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## THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO THEIR LAND, ECONOMY AND CIVIL ORGANIZATION

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Map of New Mexico Showing Location of Land Owned or Used by the Pueblo Indians

## I. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

A CULTURE is composed of innumerable interlacing parts which depend for their cohesion upon forces both within and without the group. Ideally, each culture should be studied as a whole; practically, techniques do not exist which enable us to analyze all aspects of so complex a problem, and therefore it is necessary to separate the design into its interrelated parts and to study each sector by itself.

The sector of Pueblo culture which forms the basis of this paper is the civil organization of the village. This study of present-day conditions shows that the main force within the Pueblo villages which molded the civil organization was their economy; the outside force was the impact of the Spanish and Anglo-American cultures on the Indian and his institutions. Land being the basis of Pueblo economy, to understand the Indian's relation to his soil is vital. The years of contention over boundaries, titles to grants, and legislation influence the Indian's habit of thought as well as his laws.

Land in the eyes of the Indian is his most precious possession. He had to protect his resources from the Spanish, the Mexican, and the Anglo-American in turn. He had to learn the language as well as the customs of the rulers of the country. Experience must have demonstrated to the Indian over and over again that being drawn into court, or getting into a controversy, or signing a paper usually resulted in his losing some of his precious resources. To protect himself from the invaders the Indian adopted the only method he knew how to use—that was, his own version of "the iron curtain." This attitude of secretiveness characterizes the Pueblos even today.

The pre-Spanish forces which molded Pueblo society can only be surmised since no historical records exist for that period. The first studies of these villages, made after the Spanish conquest, show the civil organization to have been dominated by the religious hierarchy. Ceremonies which had as their object placating gods of nature, who brought the sun and rain so that crops would be produced in abundance, might be considered one practical approach to their economic problems. Framed for a state of society which has passed away, and perhaps too stringent for that state of society, these rules and observances have fallen into modification or disuse.

The native religion has lost its hold on the people in those villages which have adopted modern methods of cultivation and management of land. The philosophy that man is the complete master of nature which so often goes with the first flush of scientific advancement has been no small factor in discrediting the old beliefs. The use of farm machinery instead of horses, diversified range practices in place of year-round grazing in the same area, group pur-

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<sup>1</sup> This work was partially subsidized by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.



chasing and marketing of livestock and farm produce has resulted in an adaptation of their civil organization to conform to their present-day activities.

The first part of this report deals with outside forces—the contentions over land ownership; the second and third parts deal with forces within the tribes, their economy and civil organization, and the relation between their economy and the present-day civil organization.

## II. LAND

### A. COMPLICATIONS OVER LAND TITLES

THE Pueblo Indian has lived in the semi-arid region of the United States for the last seventeen centuries<sup>2</sup> but there is little known of land ownership in prehistoric days. Land was probably owned communally as is all the range and some agricultural land today, with small farms controlled by generations of the same family, but always with the tacit approval of the head man of the tribe.

With the establishment of Spanish culture in the Southwest, the idea of individual ownership and land titles was introduced. This introduction is of special importance to the fourteen thousand Pueblo Indians occupying nineteen villages in New Mexico today, who are the subject of this paper, since these pueblos were intimately related geographically and economically to the Spanish settlements.

The Spanish monarch, according to the custom of the times, made grants of land in New Spain to recognized Indian settlements and to faithful and meritorious subjects.<sup>3</sup> Grants were designated either as so many leagues from the central part of the village—usually the Church—or else were described by natural objects in the vicinity. For example, the north line of a piece of land would be said to extend to “the two-chicken spring” or to a stone with a peculiar contour or design of moss, or to a certain mesa top. Although the original boundaries may have been clear to the person who received the land, after two or three generations the name of the spring might have changed, the stone been moved, or confusion arisen as to which mesa top the deed described. Individual land holdings were vast, and descriptions in some deeds overlapped. New settlers, not knowing the boundary lines of grants, established homes within their borders. This land they claimed as their own by reason of long occupancy. Confusion as to land ownership resulted, and controversies over land boundaries fill the history of the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and the first part of the twentieth centuries.

The heaviest population was in the farming area of the Rio Grande Valley, where crude earth and log dams made the river water available for irrigation during the dry, hot, growing season of this semi-arid region.

In 1821 when Mexico, by declaring independence from Spain, became the ruler of New Mexico,<sup>4</sup> Spanish laws referring to property continued in force theoretically; actually, laxity on the part of the local officials, as well as increasing immigration, caused much of the land to pass out of the hands of the

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, 1930; Stallings, 1941.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson, 1941, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty of Córdoba, August 24, 1821, and the Declaration of Independence, September 27, 1821.

original owners and into those of the more aggressive new settlers. Although the Mexican rule was short, complications of land ownership, already prevalent in Spanish times, continued and multiplied.

In 1848, when New Mexico became a territory of the United States, the right of ownership in the original Spanish grants, as well as title to property acquired during both the Spanish and Mexican regimes, was agreed to in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.<sup>6</sup> To administer the provisions in this Treaty which related to the recognition of land ownership, Congress, by the Act of July 22, 1854, established the Office of Surveyor General for the Territory of New Mexico.<sup>7</sup> As a result, the land was surveyed for the first time into townships and sections.

Paragraph eight of the Act of July 22, 1854, provided that the Surveyor General, under instruction given by the Secretary of the Interior, should investigate and make recommendations with a view to confirming all bonafide land claims within the Territory. Little did anyone realize that this order would take almost ninety years to fulfill.

One of the first acts of the Surveyor General was to have the title to the land grants confirmed by Congress. Later, the General Land Office issued patents to the Indians. (Table I)

These patents provided for the Federal Government's relinquishing all rights and claims within the Pueblo Land-Grant Area. Although the Federal Government did not relinquish the rights to any valid adverse claims which might exist, no attempt was made to find out if such rights existed, nor was provision made for settling controversies. At this time, about the middle of the century, hundreds of non-Indians claimed ownership to tracts of land within the Pueblo Land Grants.

The Indian Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834<sup>8</sup> had been made to apply to Pueblo Indians by government executives charged with Indian affairs. Within the definition of the Act, Pueblo Indians were considered Indian tribes, and unauthorized settlement upon their tribal land constituted a Federal offense. However, it was impossible to protect Indian lands either against squatters or from being sold by reason of a decision rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1876.<sup>9</sup> This decision held that the Pueblo Indians were not Indians within the meaning of the Act of 1834. In addition, a series of earlier decisions by the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico allowed the Indians to dispose of their land, there being no Federal statute protecting Pueblo lands from non-Indian settlement.

Drawn by the existence of unprotected Indian land in New Mexico, an

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<sup>6</sup> February 2, 1848.

<sup>7</sup> 10 Stat. 308.

<sup>8</sup> 4 Stat. 729.

<sup>9</sup> U. S. vs. Joseph (94 U. S. 614).

influx of settlers<sup>8</sup> arrived, and by 1913 some 3,000 non-Indian families were living within Indian grants. The entire non-Indian town of Taos was settled within the Taos Pueblo Grant, and the Spanish village of Española was established upon Santa Clara Grant land. Only the pueblos of Acoma, Zia and Zuni lost no land to non-Indians.

In 1913, however, the Supreme Court reversed itself, ruling that the Pueblo tribes were entitled to the same protection as other Indian tribes in the United States.<sup>9</sup> This reversal of their opinion created consternation among the non-Indians who possessed land within the exterior boundaries of the Pueblo reservations, land to which they believed they had title. It appeared, for a time, as if the deeds or claims of the non-Indian settlers, though made in good faith under the earlier court decision, were now worthless.

The history of the stormy years from the Sandoval decision in 1913 to the passage of the Pueblo Lands Act of 1924 is given in detail by Brayer<sup>10</sup> and Cohen.<sup>11</sup>

The Pueblo Lands Act of 1924 provided that all non-Indian claimants should prove either (a) continuous, exclusive and adverse possession under color of title since January 6, 1902, with taxes paid; or (b) continuous, exclusive and adverse possession since March 16, 1889, with taxes paid, but without color of title. The Act also provided that the Board should investigate and report on the value of those lands and on water rights adjudicated in non-Indian title. It further provided that the United States should compensate Indians for their losses of land, water rights and improvements in those cases where title was extinguished by reason of negligence on the part of the United States. Money for compensation, however, was not appropriated finally until 1935. It was then deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the account of the individual Pueblo villages and was known as "Compensation money." This money has had a profound effect on Pueblo life.

Provision was made in the Act of 1924 that, upon the filing of the Board's reports, the Attorney General should file in the United States District Court a suit to quiet title to all the Indian land. The Board began its work in 1925. It conducted hearings at Santa Fe and in each of the nineteen pueblos, passing individually on title to each of the private claims.

To the non-Indian claimants whose titles had been duly confirmed, the United States issued patents. Claimants whose titles were not confirmed, yet who had settled on the land in good faith prior to 1912, were reimbursed on the same basis as the Indians, except that the cash was paid to the non-Indians directly instead of to the community as in the case of the Indians. Section 17 of the Pueblo Lands Act prevented further acquisition of Pueblo Indian lands by

<sup>8</sup> U. S. vs. Sandoval (231 U. S. 28).

<sup>10</sup> Brayer, 1939, Chapter 25.

<sup>11</sup> Cohen, 1942a and 1942b.

non-Indians and invalidated any interest subsequently acquired—whether lease, purchase, or claim—unless that interest should be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Today, in order to demonstrate clear title to holdings within the exterior boundaries of the Pueblo grant lands, non-Indians must hold patents issued by the United States. The result of these proceedings was that in 1938, for the first time since the coming of the Spanish, Pueblo Indians of New Mexico were free from land controversy within their grants.

Despite the success of the Pueblo Lands Act in quieting titles within the Pueblo grants, however, it effected no restitution of lands which the Indians had lost when these lay outside of the grant itself. For example, the Jemez, Zia and Santa Ana Indians had a deed from the Spanish monarch which they believed to be a valid claim to the Espiritu Santo Grant.<sup>12</sup> This grant of approximately 383,849 acres was also claimed by a family named Baca, who apparently were ignorant of the prior Indian deed. Congress had confirmed the Baca claim by Act of March 3, 1869.<sup>13</sup> The Indians, unaware of the Act of 1869, filed suit in the Court of Private Land Claims in 1883 to secure confirmation of their title to the Espiritu Santo Grant. Their claim was denied.

Nor was the loss of land confined to whole grants. The Acoma and Santo Domingo Indians both have claimed that their grants have been reduced in size and that the present boundary corners are not those described in the original Spanish deeds.

The Homestead Act of 1862<sup>14</sup> allowed newcomers to settle and acquire homesteads within grazing areas surrounding the old Indian and Spanish villages, but not within the grants themselves. With these homesteads as base land, new settlers used the surrounding grazing areas which the original owners had for generations looked upon as their own. As the new settlers increased in number, the Indian stock was pushed back to within the limits of the reservation. By 1930, few Indians were running any livestock on Public Domain which surrounded their reservations.

The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934<sup>15</sup> further crystallized the land pattern of the 30's. Under this law, permits to run on Public Domain were based on "prior use," prior use being defined as the use of an area four years previous to the passage of the Act. Under this definition few Indians could apply. An appeal to the Secretary of the Interior resulted in a revision of the definition.

Not only the Indians but the native Spanish families were affected by the changing land ownership in the Southwest. Approximately 6,000,000 acres of land owned as private or community grants in the Rio Grande drainage basin had been available to the Spanish-speaking population of the State around

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<sup>12</sup> Brayer, 1939.

<sup>13</sup> 15 Stat. 454 (Private Claim 44).

<sup>14</sup> 12 Stat. 392.

<sup>15</sup> 48 Stat. 1269.

1900; somewhat less than 200,000 acres were still available to them in 1938.<sup>16</sup> That is, the use of some 5,800,000 acres was lost by the Spanish-speaking people of the State over a period of less than forty years. With the Spanish-speaking people, most of their loss was final; with Indians, the Federal Government attempted to reimburse them.

During the years 1877 to 1933 the Indians had, in partial compensation for losses of land, obtained new areas. The new areas had been acquired by Acts of Congress, Executive Orders, and by community and individual initiative. A portion of Laguna's Paguete Tract had been purchased from funds donated by the community. Some individuals had bought farms; others had taken up sections under the Homestead Act.<sup>17</sup> Still others had allotments of land made to them by the United States Government. (Table I)

Such land as the Pueblos owned was heavily overgrazed and depleted. During the last three centuries they had been deprived of the only means within their knowledge of renewing their resources, that of moving from depleted farms to new areas, since all land was now owned individually, federally or by the State. Because of over-use of land, some of the pueblos, especially Laguna and Acoma, were faced with extinction.

This shortage and deterioration of land led to the formation, by the Federal Government, of a Land Acquisition Program, conceived at this time and consummated during the next ten years. This program basically affected Pueblo economy. Forces which had been gathering for some quarter of a century now came into play, and can be traced as they bore upon and reshaped the civil structure of the village.

#### B. LAND ACQUISITION PROGRAM

During the decade following 1934, the Pueblo Indians obtained land by permit, lease, exchange or purchase. Permission to run stock on the Public Domain was obtained by two means. When the Public Domain was adjacent to or surrounded by Indian land, or land blocked out to be purchased, the domain was assigned to the Indians by Secretarial Order. Public Domain not in this category was applied for through the Taylor Grazing Service. Indian and non-Indian applications were identical. In granting the permits, the term "prior use" was defined for non-Indians as the use of the range during 1930 to 1934. For Indians the definition covered a longer period.<sup>18</sup> Taos had obtained, through a special Act,<sup>19</sup> the right to use some land administered by

<sup>16</sup> Maes, E. E., *Three Hundred Years of European Settlement in New Mexico—A Study in Two Populations*. Section of Human Surveys, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1939. (Typescript.)

<sup>17</sup> 12 Stat. 392.

<sup>18</sup> The reasons for the two definitions are explained under "Complications over Land Titles."

<sup>19</sup> 48 Stat. 108.

the Forest Service. Picuris and Nambe had permits for twelve and thirty head of livestock, respectively, on the National Forest. The 199,255 acres of land which the Indians of the various pueblos have leased or use under permit from the Forest Service, Taylor Grazing Service, or the State are shown in Table II; the leases are broken down into the three categories for each pueblo in Table I.

Acoma acquired a deed to 3,196 acres of grazing land from the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in exchange for some irrigated acres within its own territory. The railroad engineers needed to straighten their tracks so as to enable their new high-powered engines to continue at seventy miles an hour instead of slowing down for curves. Although the exchange did not benefit the Indians, since there is insufficient farming land in Acoma, this exchange added to the total amount of the range.

Land was purchased for the pueblos by Compensation money made available through the Pueblo Lands Act,<sup>20</sup> as well as by funds appropriated by the United States Government. From Compensation money the Indians acquired a total of 47,054 acres distributed among fifteen pueblos (Footnotes, Table I). Deeds to land within the boundaries of the Pueblo grants were made in the name of the pueblos. Acoma, Zia and Zuni had no Compensation money, while Sandia people felt that they needed other things more than land. Of the total 47,054 acres, only 2,869 acres were irrigated. Since non-Indian owners of irrigated land were reluctant to sell, those pueblos needing farming land the most found it practically impossible to obtain.

Money appropriated under the Indian Reorganization Act, given the Indian Service directly, was used to buy one tract of 27,247 acres of non-Indian-owned land within the reservation of Acoma.<sup>21</sup> This tract was within the legal boundary of the grant, therefore the deed was made in the name of the pueblo. (Table I (A), Acoma, footnote 111)

The remaining land was purchased through six different sources—the Submarginal Lands Board, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Resettlement Administration, Rehabilitation, and the Bankhead-Jones Act. The land purchased by these funds is referred to as “purchase areas.”

The Submarginal Lands Board tentatively approved the purchase of 175,000 acres of submarginal land “on, or adjacent to the Pueblo Indian Reservations.” In April, 1934, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was requested by the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation to restate the need of the

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<sup>20</sup> 43 Stat. 636, under “Complications over Land Titles.”

<sup>21</sup> After this land was purchased, a rider was attached to the Appropriation Bill making it impossible, in the future, to use this money for Arizona or New Mexico land purchases.

Indian people for additional land, since the Director of that corporation had agreed in principle to the purchase of approximately 500,000 acres. Mr. J. S. Lansill, Director, Land Program, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in July, 1934, notified the Commissioner that \$2,500,000 of the original grant of \$25,000,000 to buy submarginal land had been reserved for purchase of land. Such land was to be used primarily for the benefit of those Indians who were under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Actually, the first lands acquired were purchased by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This agency was succeeded, in 1935, by the Resettlement Administration, which carried out the remainder of the purchases, except for a few acres bought with Rehabilitation money. Rehabilitation funds were appropriated under the Emergency Relief Acts of 1937, 1938 and 1939. On December 11, 1940, and March 22, 1943, authorization was secured from the Indian Office for use of 1938, 1939 and 1941 Rehabilitation funds for land purchases. Title to lands purchased by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, by the Resettlement Administration, and with Rehabilitation funds was taken in the name of the "United States of America." Money from the Bankhead-Jones Act was used for only one purchase—the Antonio Sedillo Grant.

In 1936, after negotiations had been concluded, there was a demand in New Mexico for some of the purchased lands to be allocated to non-Indian use. On February 20, 1936, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, made the following statement of policy with respect to the purchase areas at that time:

While . . . the express object of the Government in buying these lands was to meet the needs of the Pueblos, the Indian Service recognizes . . . the requirements of the native Spanish-American population are such that they, along with the Indians, must be given privileges on the ranges . . .

In accordance with that policy, therefore, some of the Federal purchase areas acquired primarily for the Indians were designated for non-Indian use. The decisions as to which areas should be used by Indians and which by non-Indians were made by the Interdepartmental Rio Grande Board. This Board consisted of one representative from each of the following Federal agencies: (1) Grazing Service, (2) Indian Service, (3) General Land Office, (4) Bureau of Reclamation, (5) Secretary's Office in the Department of the Interior, (6) Forest Service, (7) Soil Conservation Service, (8) Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and (9) Secretary's Office in the Department of Agriculture.

As a result of the Board's recommendations, the following purchase areas, originally intended for Indian use, were set aside in whole or in part for use by non-Indians. All were assigned to the Soil Conservation Service for administration except the Gabaldon Grant, which was assigned to the Forest Service.



Caja del Rio Grant  
La Majada Grant  
Ramon Vigil Grant<sup>22</sup>  
Gabaldon Grant

Sebastian Martin Grant<sup>23</sup>  
South Half Lobato Grant  
San Jose Grant  
Espiritu Santo Grant<sup>24</sup>

One means of benefiting both non-Indians and Indians is through the execution of exchange of use agreements. By this means land which cannot be used to advantage by one owner is exchanged for an equivalent amount of range from another owner. Thus a mutually beneficial consolidation of range lands is made possible.

In some instances, because non-Indian privately owned land is situated within ranges used or owned by Indians, or because consolidation of land is made impracticable by inconvenient water distribution, topography and other physical features, permits have been issued for grazing of non-Indian livestock in common with that of Indians, or blocks of land have been set aside for non-Indians.

Eight areas purchased with Federal funds have been placed under the administration of the United Pueblos Agency pending the enactment of legislation—Acoma Purchase Area; Antonio Sedillo Grant; Montano Grant; Isleta Purchase Area; Canonicito Purchase Area; Zia, Santa Ana and San Ysidro Grant; Borrego Grant, and the Zuni Purchase Area.<sup>25</sup> (Table XIII)

<sup>22</sup> Ramon Vigil Grant. See Table I (K) under San Ildefonso.

<sup>23</sup> Sebastian Martin Grant. See Table I (L) under San Juan.

<sup>24</sup> Espiritu Santo Grant. See Table I (D) and (R) under Jemez and Zia.

<sup>25</sup> The Antonio Sedillo and Montano Grants were assigned to Laguna (Table I). The Borrego Grant was assigned to Zia (Table I). The land in the Acoma Purchase Area was distributed to Acoma, Laguna, and non-Indians as follows: land purchased by Resettlement Administration was allocated to Acoma, 54,268 acres; Laguna, 19,396 acres; and non-Indians the remainder. Of Public Domain, Acoma received 33,721 acres, Laguna 10,607 acres, with the remainder going to non-Indians. State leases: Acoma uses 11,321 acres, Laguna 1,720 acres, the remainder being exchanged with non-Indians for the use of other land. Acoma has 480 acres of homestead; Laguna has 274. Laguna has 2,957 acres of allotments. Rehabilitation money purchased 320 acres of land, 208 being used by Acoma, the use of the remainder having been exchanged. (Table I)

The Canonicito area was assigned to Laguna and Navajo Indians (Table I). Laguna uses 6,950 acres purchased by Resettlement Administration and 2,813 acres of Public Domain turned over to the Indian Service by Secretarial Order.

The Isleta Purchase Area is entirely used by Isletas (Table I). They use 17,493 acres purchased by Resettlement Administration, 1,257 acres leased from the State, and 2,061 acres of Public Domain turned over to the Indian Service for Administration.

The area known as Zia, Santa Ana, and San Ysidro Grant is used by Zia and Jemez (Table I). Jemez uses 1,092 acres, while Zia uses 4,074 acres of the San Ysidro Grant, the remainder being used by non-Indians. Zia uses 20,431 acres of Resettlement purchase land, 2,244 acres of State-leased land, and all of the Public Domain within the area.

The Zuni north and south Purchase Area is entirely used by Zunis and non-Indians. The acreage used by Zuni is 44,417 acres of Resettlement purchased land, 22,769 of Public Domain,

## C. RECAPITULATION

There are three stages in the availability of land: first, during prehistoric times when land was plentiful; second, during the historic period up until about 1913, when the amount of land the Indians owned or used was gradually diminishing; and, third, during the twentieth century, when the Indian land was increased in amount.

Archeological records show that in the prehistoric Southwest the Pueblo Indians lived as farmers, occasionally renewing their resources, as the soil in the cultivated land about their villages became depleted, by moving to new sites.

During the three hundred and fifty years following Spanish occupation, the Indians gradually lost their holdings. First, the Spanish monarch assigned grants to the Indian tribes which delineated the boundaries of the area they legally owned, discouraging their establishing new communities outside of the area. During the latter part of the Spanish regime, the Mexican regime, and early part of the American occupation, some of the Indian villages lost all of certain grants and a portion of others, and all of the villages lost all of the grazing areas surrounding their grants, to which they had no deeds but which they claimed through generations of use. The losses were due to squatters settling within Indian property, confusion over boundaries, the Indians' inability to assert their claims, and negligence on the part of the United States Government.

During the twentieth century the Indians were reimbursed by Act of Congress and Executive Order reservations, and money appropriated under the Pueblo Lands Act. Some land had been secured through individual initiative, so that by 1933 the Pueblo Indians, approximately 11,300 in number (Table XI), owned 1,260,500 grazing acres and 17,986 agricultural acres (Table II, footnote 146), a distribution per capita of 1.59 farming and 111 grazing acres. Not only was the amount small, but erosion produced by overfarming and overgrazing was making large areas worthless.

This over-use and deterioration of land led, during the decade following 1934, to the acceleration of the Federal Government's land acquisition program. Sixteen distinct areas were obtained by the Federal Relief Administration, Resettlement Administration, Rehabilitation Administration, and with Bankhead-Jones Act money. Eight of these went to non-Indians, and eight to Indians. To allow for most economical use of the land, Indians used part of the area assigned to non-Indians and non-Indians used part of the area assigned to Indians. Table II shows the 390,727 acres of land purchased and assigned to Indians, as well as the 199,255 acres of land under lease or permit from the

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all of the State land in the area and some outside, 160 acres of Indian homestead, and 1,760 acres of Indian allotment. The remainder is used by non-Indians. (Table I [S])

State, Forest Service or Taylor Grazing Service which are used by Indians.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1934 and 1944, approximately 667,479<sup>27</sup> acres of land were secured for the use of Pueblo Indians, or about one half again as much land as was owned prior to 1933, making the total acres used by the Pueblo Indians in 1944 1,944,965. This additional land had a profound effect upon their economy.

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<sup>26</sup> Grants assigned to non-Indians are listed under "Land Purchased with Federal Funds used by Spanish Americans."

<sup>27</sup> This land represents the 589,982 acres in Table II, columns 3 and 4: 47,054 acres purchased with Compensation money, 27,247 acres purchased with money from the Indian Reorganization Act, and 3,196 acres exchanged with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway. (Table II, footnote 146)

### III. ECONOMY

THE aboriginal pattern was an economy primarily of subsistence. It was useless to raise more corn than your family could consume or store for future use, because there was no market for it. You shared with your neighbor when he was hungry and he in turn helped you when you needed food. Without money, security lay in a system of social obligation.

During the historic period, because of the institution of the trader, the Indians passed through the credit system before they reached a cash economy. Even as late as 1934, credit, not sale, was the usual Indian habit. Excess livestock were driven to the local trader, where credit was obtained, and credit was later exchanged for groceries or other necessities. Livestock were not weighed but sold by the head. There was, therefore, no incentive to raise large, registered animals, since all animals, large and small, brought the same price. This also applied to the farm produce. Crops at the local market were sold by bulk, regardless of quality. This delay in the use of cash was probably the most important factor in preserving the older form of their organization. Without the common denominator of cash, the relation between their produce and income was difficult to compare with the same figures outside the reservation.

Altering this detrimental dependence on amount rather than quality called for three changes. The Indians' habit of thought required to be changed through education; material conditions had to be improved so that quality production was possible; and buyers had to be found to whom quality was important.

In the early thirties, much of the range land was overgrazed. Cattle and sheep died each year from starvation and disease. In 1935, however, land improvement by trained engineers was undertaken on several reservations, improvements beyond the Indian's capacity to envisage or his technical skill to carry out. For the first time, opportunity was given the people of these reservations to use their land effectively.

Work, which contributed toward better utilization of the Indian resources, was financed through four appropriations.<sup>28</sup> During the years 1934-1944 the following facilities were constructed: 4 large and 53 smaller bridges, 318 miles

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<sup>28</sup> These appropriations were handled by four separate divisions as compared to agencies which handle such problems for the non-Indian population, as follows: (1) Indian Irrigation Division, handled for the non-Indians by the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior or by the State; (2) Indian Roads Division, handled for thoroughfares outside of Indian-owned or used land by the State, County, or municipality, with or without Federal funds; (3) Indian Civilian Conservation Division, and (4) Indian Soil and Moisture Divisions, handled for non-Indians by the Taylor Grazing Service, the Land Office of the Department of the Interior, the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture, and Agricultural Adjustment Administration which paid benefits directly to the individual Indian or the Pueblo with the assistance of the United Pueblos Agency.

of truck and secondary trails, 95 miles of stock trails and driveways, 1,325 miles of boundary and cross fencing, 56 cattle guards, 35 corrals; planting of 20,000 trees, 584 acres of range grass, 6,732 acres of chamiza; contour furrowing 5,685 acres; terracing 16 miles; and some 1,085 gulleys or arroyos were plugged with stone and wire structures; 47 deep and 9 shallow wells were drilled; 122 springs were developed; 119 stock tanks or small reservoirs, and some 263 impounding, spreader, or diversion dams were constructed.

Roads and trails facilitated transportation and opened up hitherto inaccessible grass. Boundary fences, cross fences, and cattle guards divided summer from winter ranges and allowed for the best seasonal use of the forage. Fences also kept out trespass stock and made it possible for the Indians to segregate their animals, preventing healthy cattle from mingling with diseased animals or breeding with stock of poorer quality. Revegetation increased the amount of food available and prevented further erosion of denuded areas.

With the building of spreader dams which stored and spread water over the dry range, with the irrigation of pasture land for the provision of winter feed, with partial control of erosion by means of contour furrowing, terracing, gully plugs, and small dams of all kinds to impound the water, wells and springs for watering stock, increased productiveness and economical use of land became possible.

Table III shows the increase in the carrying capacity of the areas purchased with Federal funds to be 3,862 cattle units all year long. This increase of carrying capacity was due to scientific utilization of the range. Probably most important of all was the fact that the land was prevented from further deterioration and saved for the use of future generations. If a year-long cattle unit were figured in terms of money, or about eighty dollars per head, which was a conservative price in 1944, 3,862 cattle units would represent a permanent increase of some \$308,960.

By the introduction of improved breeds of animals and the elimination of unproductive animals from the range; by a program of round-ups, branding, dehorning, and dipping, in each pueblo the Indians were introduced to scientific livestock management.

Improvement of existing irrigation structures, building of new storage dams at Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Acoma, Laguna, and Zuni, as well as leveling land, which needed heavy machinery, resulted in the addition of approximately 1,000 more farming acres. The amount of land which could be brought under cultivation was usually limited, and in the few pueblos where adequate land existed, insufficient water prevented development.

Since land is the foundation of Indian economy, change in land practices necessarily brought with it change in social custom. Prior to 1935, each livestock owner ordinarily had mortgaged his stock long in advance for food eaten the previous winter. A great many Indians were constantly in debt to the local

traders, who nevertheless provided their sole market. With the introduction of a range division in the United Pueblos Agency, in 1935, buyers representing markets were invited to compete with the traders. Cash purchases resulted. Cash, therefore, was available for winter purchases, and thus for the first time Indians compared grocery prices and bought where their money would go farthest.

The acceleration of a change from a subsistence to a credit and then to a money economy is undoubtedly the most important of the changes brought about by alteration in land practices. It is, however, by no means the only one. Without superseding the traditional activities, especially of a religious nature, which engaged the whole community, there came into being activities by specialized groups, such as the sheepmen's association and the cattlemen's association.

Grazing lands are owned by the community as a whole, and permission for a new man to enter into the livestock business must be obtained from the governing authorities within the village. Prior to 1935, the carrying capacity of the range, which should be the basis on which the permits would be granted, was not known, and so the range was overstocked and overgrazed. After 1935, scientific range-management plans and frequent checks by the range-management division of the United Pueblos Agency determined the carrying capacity. Each Governor is now informed by the United Pueblos office of the total number of livestock an area may carry. Having been supplied with this estimate, the Governor and the Council determine the needs of the livestock men and give to each individual the right to run the number decided upon.

The head of each family is allowed a certain number of animals. The family head may be the mother, if the father is dead. Families usually run their livestock as one group. Inheritance of flocks is from a man to his wife or children. Livestock are sold directly from the Indian owner to purchasers.

Since 1935, the Indian Service has assumed an advisory and supervisory responsibility for the range. It has been the duty of the Federal Government to see that the lands are not overgrazed and to help maintain those range structures for the maintaining of which the Indians have not the means. When the appropriations for the Indian Service were cut because of World War II, the responsibility for repairing fences and maintaining the water supply on Indian land was assumed by the Governor and Council, being handled differently in the various villages, but the structures throughout the area were well maintained. It is interesting to note that the pueblos have an adequately flexible organization for assuming new responsibilities.

The tangible results of the educational and improvement program just quoted are difficult to represent. A comparison of cash values would show 1944 figures far higher than they should be, because, regardless of other factors, nearly all commodities increased in price between 1934 and 1944. If the pro-

duce sold in 1944 is estimated in terms of 1934 values, the improved quality of the 1944 product, as well as the stabilization of the business, is not taken into account. The 1934 income is one in which part of the principal is included. In 1934 not only was the range, especially in Laguna and Acoma, fast becoming an unproductive desert, but the livestock was deteriorating. Meat and wool production for that year was high because of the large number of animals on the range and because the Indians were selling their heaviest animals, which brought the most cash, keeping the scrub animals for breeding (accurate figures for 1934 for meat and wool sales not available). Wool sold during 1936-1943 is shown in Table IV. Meat production for the years 1938 to 1943 is shown in Table V for Laguna and Acoma, where the most careful tallies were kept. In these two villages the quota of animals to be removed was set each year for five years in order to adjust the number of animals to the carrying capacity of their reservations and the newly acquired land. Reduction commenced in 1935 and continued through 1939.

During 1935, 1936 and 1937 surplus horses and burros, representing non-edible meat, filled the annual quota of animals to be removed from the range. By the end of 1937, the range being free of surplus non-productive stock, cattle and sheep made up the quota of animals which had to be removed from the areas. This was edible meat and accounts for the high total quota of meat sold and consumed for 1938 and 1939 (Table V). The figures in Table V reflect the shift of many livestock owners, at this time, from the sheep to the cattle business. Beginning with 1940, the carrying capacity of the range was increased (Table III) and herds were built up, so the amount of meat sold dropped from one and a half million pounds in 1939 to a little over a million pounds in 1943. (Table V)

During the period of adjustment, the total amount of meat and wool sold was no criterion of the final result. Therefore, an evaluation of the result in the educational and improvement program will be made in terms of produce. Each sheep produced in 1942, on the average, one pound more wool than did the sheep in 1938. The wool produced in Laguna and Acoma in 1938 was 142,073 pounds, and in 1942, 172,243 pounds—an increase of 30,170 pounds, or 21 per cent. In 1938 the Pueblo lamb crop was 52 per cent of the herds; in 1942 this figure stood at 62 per cent—an increase of 10 per cent. The calf crop has advanced from 59 per cent of the total herd in 1938 to 79 per cent in 1942—net gain of 20 per cent. The average weight of yearling lambs increased by 10 pounds, having advanced from 47 pounds in 1938 to 57 pounds in 1942; and that of calves by 101 pounds, from approximately 264 in 1938 to 365 in 1942 (Table VI). The number of registered bulls and improved rams purchased for each pueblo is given in Table VII.

The stock-adjustment program was not nearly so drastic in pueblos other than Acoma and Laguna. In Zuni, fewer animals had to be removed perma-

nently, and the range was in better shape. Of the remaining sixteen pueblos, some had no sheep or cattle, while others had only a few.

Eggs, forage crops, cereal crops, garden produce have all increased—112, 30, 13 and 124 per cent respectively, but the amount of milk has decreased (Table VIII). This decrease is accounted for by the high rate of tuberculosis and malta fever among the milk animals, which made it necessary to teach the pasteurizing of milk and the handling of dairy cattle before dairy-cattle production was encouraged. The necessary education has not yet been completed.

The number of pounds of fruit produced has decreased 51 per cent since 1935 because old trees have been replaced by young ones not yet bearing. (Table VIII)

The garden acreage, however, increased only 17 per cent because the land available for gardens in the pueblos is limited (Table VII). Of the newly acquired land, only 2,869 acres were suitable for cultivation. A thousand acres of Indian land were brought under cultivation by leveling and digging irrigation canals, making a total of 3,869 additional acres (Table II, footnote 149). The more intensive cultivation of the available land is shown by the 25 per cent increase in the number of families with gardens. (Table IX)

An educational agricultural program has been carried on from the United Pueblos Agency. Improved seed, fruit trees, poultry, and hogs have been introduced, and emphasis has been laid on the use of fertilizers and on rotation of crops. The farmers have banded together to purchase seeds and new fruit trees; the community, headed by the Governor and the Council, has used Compensation funds to purchase farm machinery to be used by everyone in the village.

Instruction in canning garden products, in dehydrating foods, and in the storage of foodstuffs resulted in a 354 per cent increase in food canned, and a 555 per cent increase in produce dried. (Table X)

A fund set aside for lending money for farm machinery, animals, seeds or other items to improve their farms or livestock has increased production as well as further accented the importance of money.

Cooperative marketing has assisted in raising the prices of products and has kept the people from being entirely dependent upon local outlets for their produce. The annual State Fair held in Albuquerque, where prizes are given for livestock, garden produce, and canned goods, finds many blue ribbons on the Indian exhibits. Again the idea of quality as against bulk is stressed.

Farming lands are used individually. The families have no deeds from the Federal, State, or Pueblo governments, no written record that the land is theirs, but everyone in the community knows the owner of each plot. Land is inherited from the husband by the wife, if the wife is alive. When neither parent is alive, land is divided equally among the children, a method of inheritance resulting in minute uneconomical units. Land can be sold or traded be-



tween members of the tribe, but it cannot go to non-Indians. In some communities, land not used after a certain number of years is returned to the Governor and the Council for reassignment.

In a few villages there is a small amount of unassigned farming land which can be given landless families, but this is not the rule. When new farming land is made available by the Federal Government, the land is turned over to the Governor and the Council to distribute. Since the demand for land far exceeds the amount to be distributed, the Governor usually turns to the Federal Government for some plan to insure a fair distribution. The old custom of distribution on the basis of need or request is inadequate to meet the pressure of the new situation.

*Crafts.* Pottery, beads, drums, woven cloth, and other objects made by the Indians are found in the oldest archeological ruins. In pre-Spanish times these were made for ceremonial or practical purposes, only incidentally for barter.

The craftsman was probably the only member of a communal society who worked by himself. He emerges from out of the past as the first individual working alone. He was the first member in the society to adopt a way of living toward which the group has since been moving.

The reason for the craftsman's working individually lies, of course, in the nature of his work. The farmer's crops are destroyed by grasshoppers from his neighbor's farm. Farmers must work together to eradicate the pests. Sheep in one flock die from ticks traveling from another man's stock. Owners have to band together and dip their animals. But the craftsman is dependent only on himself. With the passing of time, however, the craftsman's aim, if not his method, has been modified by the altered economy around him. Today most craft products go directly to cash sale.

There is a large market for Indian crafts, especially for pottery, beads and silver jewelry. During the war years, with most foreign markets cut off, the demand for Indian crafts far exceeded the supply.

One very important fact in the whole economy of the Indian has not yet been touched upon, and that is the amount of money which, since 1935, has been available for wage work. Construction work on the reservations demanded laborers, and money for salaries was available as never before. This abundance of wages further added to the Indian's consciousness of money. As soon as Federal appropriations for work in New Mexico were cut because of the war, jobs opened up all over the United States which Indians have filled. The Pueblo Indians have enlisted in the Army and Navy in a greater percentage than any other group in the nation, and 1944 found them scattered all over the world. So the war has carried on and re-emphasized the trend from a subsistence to a money economy, from a communal to an individualistic way of

life, a trend which commenced years ago but was given impetus during the last decade by the policies of the Federal Government.

This trend, of course, has not been equally pronounced in all groups. For instance, education and improvements in sheep raising affected only those pueblos with sheep. The Taos people have no sheep. Laguna, Acoma and Zuni have large herds; therefore, these three villages were the ones most affected by the new sheep program.

Although all Pueblos are farmers, their dependence on their crops varies from village to village. Some Pueblos were not interested in anything the Government had to offer, intuitively realizing that the new ways presented a threat to old ideas, and preferring their ancient customs. But it is only by an exposition of the broad sweep of change which has been summed up for the New Mexico Pueblos, as a whole, that the influences reshaping the civil organization discussed in the next section can be made clear.

## IV. CIVIL ORGANIZATION

### A. ABORIGINAL GOVERNMENT

THERE are no records of the civil organization among the Pueblos prior to 1540. Parsons<sup>29</sup> believes the pre-Spanish pattern consisted of a Town Chief (Cacique) and a War Chief, both having primarily religious, and secondarily civil, duties. Kroeber<sup>30</sup> believes the Zuni civil organization of the early twentieth century (of Governor and Governor's helpers) gave every indication of being a native institution.

Table XII shows that the office of War Chief existed prior to the sixteenth century. The office of War Chief is of Indian origin. However, other Spanish offices may have fitted already existing Indian offices, so that the Indian title may have been changed to a Spanish one. There may have been no duties in the Spanish pattern for a War Chief, or else the Spanish rulers may have deliberately tried to discourage any military activities within the Indian organization.

It is difficult to reconstruct the past, since the adoption of the Spanish form of village government was made mandatory by the Laws of the Indies. Compared to the present-day civil organization, the pre-Spanish administration must have been considerably smaller and simpler, corresponding to the aboriginal economy.

### B. PUEBLO GOVERNMENT UNDER SPANISH REGIME

The Spanish laws affecting the Pueblos were promulgated before the New Mexico Indians had even seen their Spanish conquerors. On December 27, 1512, the laws of Burgos, which laid down the basis for the Pueblo civil government, were issued.<sup>31</sup> They were later enlarged and then summarized in a code called "*Recopilación de los leyes de los reynos de los Indios*." This code was the basis of the colonial government for the Indians; it included methods of instructing the natives, of concentrating them in settlements near those of the Spanish, of providing means for the employment of native labor, and for the protection of laborers from abuse by an elaborate though ineffectual apparatus of checks and counter checks.

The principles exemplified by the Laws of the Indies, guided by which the Spanish monarchs attempted to rule the natives of the New World, were set forth by the great theologian and jurist, Francisco de Victoria, in his dissertations at the University of Salamanca in 1532.<sup>32</sup>

In Title III of the "*Recopilación*" is found the prescribed organization of each Spanish Indian village in the early sixteenth century. The town was

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<sup>29</sup> Parsons, 1939, pp. 1125-1126.

<sup>30</sup> Kroeber, 1917.

<sup>31</sup> Simpson, 1934.

<sup>32</sup> Nys, 1917.

to consist of one or more Indian *alcaldes* (or judges), and *regidores* (or councilmen) who formed a *cabildo* (or council). The latter governed the municipality.<sup>33</sup> The town council gained membership sometimes by election, sometimes by appointment from someone above it in authority; or by the sale of the office at auction. Members were selected in December, and their term of office ran for one calendar year.<sup>34</sup>

The *corregidores* or *gobernadores* (governors) were in charge of a province and were accustomed to assume much power in the municipal governments of the cities where they resided.<sup>35</sup> *Tenientes corregidores* (lieutenant governors) were appointed from time to time to perform special duties, or have command of a special province under the *corregidores*.<sup>36</sup> The *alcalde mayor* (a term seldom used before 1680) administered lesser rural districts, or subdivisions. New Mexico was divided into six, perhaps more, of such subdivisions. The *alcalde* formed the core of the local military establishment, and came into direct daily contact with the Indian villages.<sup>37</sup> The *alcalde* is not found among the present-day Indian offices, probably because the two or three thousand seventeenth-century Spanish settlers in New Mexico feared the consequences of a military organization in the hands of truculent people who outnumbered them about fifteen to one. The *alguaciles* (sheriffs) attended to law and order; the *mayordomos* were caretakers or clerks; the *fiscales* were connected with the Catholic Churches.<sup>38</sup> Town Criers called out the news.

In Spain, the cane was a symbol of authority.<sup>39</sup> Spanish governors, justices and associate justices in their official capacities carried canes. The cane,<sup>40</sup> as the insignia of office, is still used by the Pueblo authorities today. Except the *alcaldes*, all these Spanish offices are yet found in most of the New Mexico pueblos. The Governor is in charge of the reservation, assisted by the Lieutenant Governor, the Council, the Sheriffs, the Mayordomos, and the Fiscales (see Table XII and Chart). Their duties will be discussed later.

New Mexico was first conquered in the name of the Spanish monarch in 1540. From 1540 to 1610, when Santa Fe was established, the Spanish explorers and missionaries lived in or adjacent to the pueblos.<sup>41</sup> Hence the Pueblo Indians had ample opportunity to gain a first-hand knowledge of their conquerors. Prior to 1680, the Catholic Church had used Santo Domingo as its capital.<sup>42</sup> It is still so considered by all of the Pueblos, who habitually hold their All-Pueblo Council meetings at Santo Domingo.

In 1680, the Indians revolted against the Spanish, and New Mexico was not

<sup>33</sup> Simpson, 1929.      <sup>34</sup> Moses, 1914, Vol. 2, Chapter 18.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*; Scholes, 1935, pp. 71-111.      <sup>36</sup> Scholes, 1935, p. 91.

<sup>37</sup> Scholes, 1935.      <sup>38</sup> Moses, 1895, pp. 256-268.

<sup>39</sup> Pérez y López, 1798, Vol. 28, p. 157; Villadiego, 1617, Chapter 5, pp. 79-87.

<sup>40</sup> Parsons, 1939, p. 1117, discusses the assimilation of the Spanish canes into the Indian culture.      <sup>41</sup> Miller, 1941.      <sup>42</sup> Scholes, 1937, Chapter 2, p. 21.

reconquered until 1692. Thereafter Spanish rule continued, unbroken until 1821, when New Mexico was annexed to Old Mexico. In 1848, by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, New Mexico became a Territory of the United States.<sup>43</sup>

During the centuries of Spanish rule, the Spanish pattern of civil government was adopted by all of the nineteen pueblos, regardless of their underlying religion or linguistic stock.

### C. PUEBLO GOVERNMENT UNDER UNITED STATES REGIME<sup>44</sup>

#### 1. LEGAL AUTHORITY UNDER WHICH PUEBLO GOVERNMENTS OPERATE

The Pueblo governments are autonomous units originally deriving their power from Spain, which power was accepted and acknowledged by the United States government when the Pueblos came under the laws of the United States.

#### 2. FUNCTIONS OF THE PUEBLO GOVERNMENT

The functions of the Pueblo government, similar in some respects to municipalities, are legislative, judicial and executive. The functions discussed in this section apply to all of the New Mexico Pueblos and are an outgrowth of the powers and rights with which they are vested.<sup>45</sup> The interpretation of these

<sup>43</sup> Bancroft, 1889, Chapter 6, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> The observations embodied herein are based upon studies begun in 1927, the first year I was associated with the Pueblos. The facts are collected from my observations in the field, and verified or corrected by interviews with members of the Pueblos or with the United Pueblos Agency staff.

Unless otherwise stated, the material in the chapter on "Pueblo Government under United States Regime" exhibits conditions as they existed in 1943. Much of the already published material dealing with the Pueblos may appear to disagree with the facts stated here. These apparent disagreements spring from one of two causes: in some instances, the information on which the paper was based was either never accurate or was expressed in terms so general as to convey little meaning (Eickemeyer and Eickemeyer, 1895, p. 20— "The government was one of the first subjects inquired into. . . . It is twofold in character, resembling both the monarchical and republican. The former is exemplified in the office of Cacique, or chief, who was originally appointed for life by the Governor of New Mexico. . . ."); in others, conditions existing at the time the earlier observations were made have changed, so that the organization of a certain pueblo in 1943 differs from its organization in previous years. Again, different individuals within the same village may give unlike statements about the same custom. When conflicts existed which could not be checked by experience, the report given by members of the governing body was considered to be the authentic one.

<sup>45</sup> The introduction to Chapter 7 of Felix S. Cohen's "Handbook of Federal Indian Law" summarizes the Indians' right to self-government: "Indian self-government, the decided cases hold, includes the power of an Indian tribe to adopt and operate under a form of government of the Indians' choosing, to define conditions of tribal membership, to regulate domestic relations of members, to prescribe rules of inheritance, to levy taxes, to regulate property within the jurisdiction of the tribe, to control the conduct of members by municipal legislation, and to administer justice. Perhaps the most basic principle of all Indian law, supported by a host of decisions hereinafter analyzed, is the principle that those powers which are lawfully vested in an Indian tribe are not, in general, delegated powers granted by express acts of Congress, but rather inherent

functions by the Indians themselves is shown by the manner in which individual Pueblos operate, and is given under "Organization of the Pueblo Government."

The Pueblo government operated effectively when the Pueblo authorities had complete control over their members. However, when the Federal government classified certain crimes as Federal offenses and removed them from Pueblo jurisdiction, with punishments meted out in accord with the Anglo-Saxon concept of justice, issues became confused in the minds of the Pueblo authorities.

A clarification and re-emphasis of Pueblo authority was supplied by the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934.

#### a. LEGISLATIVE

The legislative function is well defined in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Pueblo of Santa Clara, New Mexico.<sup>48</sup>

Section 1. Legislative power. The legislative power shall be vested in the pueblo council, and the said power shall be exercised in accordance with, and not in conflict with, the constitution or any laws of the United States of America.

The pueblo council shall have the following rights and powers:

1. To employ legal counsel, the choice of counsel and fixing of fees to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

2. To prevent the sale, disposition, lease, or encumbrance of pueblo lands, interests in lands, or other tribal assets.

3. To negotiate with the Federal, State, and local governments, and with the councils and governing authorities of other pueblos or Indian tribes.

4. To advise the Secretary of the Interior with regard to all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit of the pueblo prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and to Congress.

5. To enact ordinances, not inconsistent with the constitution and by-laws of the pueblo, for the maintenance of law and order within the pueblo and for the punishment of members, and the exclusion of non-members violating any such ordinances, for the raising of revenue and the appropriation of available funds for pueblo purposes, for the regulation of trade, inheritance, land-holding, and private dealings in land within the pueblo, for the guidance of the officers of the pueblo in all their duties, and generally for the protection of the welfare of the pueblo and for the execution of all other powers

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powers of a limited sovereignty which has never been extinguished. Each Indian tribe begins its relationship with the Federal Government as a sovereign power, recognized as such in treaty and legislation. The powers of sovereignty have been limited from time to time by special treaties and laws designed to take from the Indian tribes control of matters which, in the judgment of Congress, these tribes could no longer be safely permitted to handle. The statutes of Congress, then, must be examined to determine the limitations of tribal sovereignty rather than to determine its sources or its positive content. What is not expressly limited remains within the domain of tribal sovereignty."

<sup>48</sup> Santa Clara, 1936, Article IV.

vested in the pueblo by existing law; Provided, That any ordinance which affects persons who are not members of the pueblo shall not take effect until it has been approved by the Secretary of the Interior or some officer designated by him.

6. To delegate any of the foregoing powers to appropriate officers of the pueblo, reserving the right to review any action taken by virtue of such delegated power.

Thus empowered, the pueblo government passes new ordinances and enforces old customs. New ordinances concern such things as speeding through the village, hunting and fishing, and matters pertaining to new State or Federal laws. Old customs cover taxation in the form of community labor within the pueblo, regulation of irrigation, regulation of the number of livestock on the range, land inheritance, and, in general, those laws which have been found necessary for the orderly operation of the pueblo. It is notable how closely the present-day method of framing legislation parallels that of Spanish Colonial days.<sup>47</sup>

#### b. JUDICIAL

The judicial power which applies to all the pueblos is given on page 6 in the Santa Clara Constitution as follows:

Section 2. Judicial power. The pueblo council<sup>48</sup> shall also adjudicate all matters coming before it over which it has jurisdiction. In all controversies coming before the pueblo council, the council shall have the right to examine all witnesses and ascertain full details of the controversy, and after the matter shall have been sufficiently commented upon by the interested parties, the council shall retire to a private place to make a decision. All of the members of the council except the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor shall have the right to vote upon a decision, and a majority shall rule. In the event of a tie, the Governor shall have the right to cast a vote, thereby breaking the tie. It shall be the duty of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor to express to the other members of the pueblo council their views regarding the case before a vote is taken.

Section 3. Common law of pueblo. With respect to all matters not covered by the written constitution, bylaws, and ordinances of the pueblo of Santa Clara, nor by those laws of the United States of America which are applicable to the pueblo of Santa Clara, the customs and usages of the pueblo, civil, and criminal, as interpreted by the council, shall have the force of law.

The position of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor with respect to voting is not so clearly delineated in all the villages as it is for Santa Clara.

The Pueblo courts consist of the Governor and his Council. Together they adjudicate all prohibited conduct (except the ten Federal crimes),<sup>49</sup> i.e.,

<sup>47</sup> Villadiego, 1617, Chapter 5.

<sup>48</sup> The composition of the Council in each village is given under the Organization of the Pueblo Government.

<sup>49</sup> The ten Federal crimes are: murder; manslaughter; rape; incest; assault with intent to kill; assault with dangerous weapon; arson; burglary; robbery; larceny. These crimes, when com-

drunkenness, speeding, battery, assault, disorder, public nuisance, failure to do community work, failure to obey officials, failure to attend meetings considered mandatory by the head men. They try all civil controversies between members of the pueblo, i.e., enforcement of promises, invasions of civil rights, protection of marital relations, guardianship and custody of children, determination of heirship, determination of parentage, trial of civil trespass, slander, negligence, and contests over possession of land, disagreement as to the use of land, or the right of inheritance of land.

Minor offenses within the pueblo may be settled on the spot by the Sheriff, or whoever acts as law-enforcement officer. Other offenses may be settled by the Governor's court or appealed to the council, but all of the important cases are brought before the Governor and Council.<sup>60</sup>

Deliberations of the court may take days or weeks; some cases may last for years. The defendant, plaintiff and witnesses give their full stories without interruption. Everyone is allowed to talk as long as he sees fit.

After all the evidence is heard, the Governor and Council usually reach a unanimous decision. In Taos, Picuris, San Juan, and Tesuque, if the Council cannot agree the Governor offers his views.

Most, though not all, of the pueblos have set up machinery whereby appeals may be taken from the decisions of the Governor and Council. In all the pueblos, a new piece of evidence or a new witness will be brought before the Governor and Council, and this will make the case into a new one which may be heard all over again. Or, a new person may present the old case, thus making it possible to be reheard.

If the Governor and Council together cannot agree in Taos, Picuris, San Juan, and Tesuque, the case may be turned over to the Cacique and headmen to make the final decision.

In Isleta, a special three-man court of appeals has been established to handle those cases upon which the Governor and Council can reach no unanimous decision. The Governor names one man for the court (this man is given the Governor's cane), and the plaintiff and defendant each name a man. Should the person named by any one of the three parties be displeasing to the others, additional choices are made until all are satisfied. The decisions of this court are final.

In Zuni, the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Tenientes try cases. The sixth Teniente gives the first judgment.<sup>61</sup> If the parties are not satisfied, the fifth Teniente gives his judgment. If parties are still not satisfied, the fourth Teniente gives his judgment, and so on down through the third, second,

mitted by or against Indians on Indian lands, must be tried in U. S. Federal Courts in accordance with Federal laws.

<sup>60</sup> Federal and State law enforcement is discussed under Part 8 of "Executive."

<sup>61</sup> For order of Tenientes, see under "Selection of Officers, Zuni."



and first. Last of all, the Governor gives his judgment, from which there is no appeal.

### C. EXECUTIVE

The pueblo activities may be considered under the following heads, each of which will be treated separately: (1) Legal Business; (2) Social Services; (3) Care of Public Buildings; (4) Taxation; (5) Distribution of Pueblo Assets; (6) Cattle Business; (7) Farming; (8) Law Enforcement. In 1942, (9) Activities Connected with the War was added.

#### 1. *Legal Business*

Contracts or agreements between the pueblo and all Federal or private agencies are signed and carried out by the Governor and Council. A contract signed by the officers of one year binds subsequent officials. Contracts made by individual Indians are not necessarily handled through the Governor and Council.

Licenses are issued by the Governor and Council to (a) traders for peddling their wares on the reservation; (b) individuals outside of the pueblo who wish concessions for selling food or soft drinks during fiesta days; (c) sportsmen for fishing and hunting, and (d) archeologists or other scientists who wish to examine sites on the reservation. The Governor and Council also pass upon permits for prospecting on their reservation before the permits are presented to the Department of the Interior for approval.

Sale of natural resources, such as timber, minerals, gravel, and stone, is decided upon and the price set by the pueblo officials. Easements for rights-of-way, highways, electric light or telephone lines, gas and oil pipe lines, leases for building sites, and all such matters are the responsibility of the pueblo officials.

The pueblo of Isleta has a cattle herd which is run under a Trust Agreement for the benefit of all the people in the pueblo. Income from the sale of licenses, leases, and the money which accrues to the benefit of the trust is deposited in the appropriate bank account, and the method by which the money is expended is determined by the authorized pueblo authorities.

#### 2. *Social Services*

The civil authorities decide which families need relief. Relief is either planned for and supplied by the Governor and the Council themselves, or they may ask the Federal agency for aid under the applicable Social Security or other program.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The Indians are entitled to but have not received Social Security benefits as of September, 1948.

When individuals within the pueblo use the community canning equipment (equipment owned by the community as a whole), a certain number of cans of food are taken by the Governor and Council as payment for the use of the equipment, and distributed to the needy of the village. The Governor and Council decide which individuals are most in need of work and the amount of work each family is entitled to, and Federal jobs are given out on this basis.

### 3. *Public Buildings*

The Indians care for the Catholic and other churches on their reservations. They plaster and decorate the churches each year before their Fiesta, take care of the graveyards, and, in those villages where there is a resident priest, attend his quarters. In some villages they assist in taking up the church collections. The men who are responsible for these duties are called *Fiscales*. The Indians maintain and care for the kivas in their villages.

*Community Meeting House.* In some villages, Nambe, Jemez, Laguna, Acoma, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana and Isleta, a building is set apart for the Council and its meetings and maintained by the community. This building may contain the papers of the officers, a desk or table at which the Governor sits when conducting meetings, and chairs or benches for the people.

Small meetings in all of the villages, except Acoma and Laguna, may be held in some large house, usually that of the Governor. If there is no community building, or a special place to keep official papers, they are usually kept in a trunk in the Governor's house and are handed down from one Governor to the next.

Meetings are sometimes held in the day schools or buildings connected with the day schools whether or not community buildings are available.

Recently the All-Pueblo Council requested from the Federal government funds with which to erect a building for All-Pueblo Council meetings at Santo Domingo. The money was made available, but the war made building such a structure impossible at the time.

In Taos, Santa Ana, Sandia, and Jemez, the officials store seed and other produce from one year to the next in rodent-proof buildings. The granaries are built with community money and are operated for the benefit of the farmers.

In Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Santa Clara, Nambe, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Sandia, Jemez, and Isleta, community buildings have been erected by the officials to store the community machinery, i.e., threshers, binders, tractors, etc. These are maintained by the community.

Jails at Isleta and Zuni were built by the United States Government and are maintained by the pueblos. Taos, Santa Ana and Jemez have pueblo jails, built and maintained by the officials of the villages. The remaining villages set aside a room which may be used as a jail should the need arise.

#### 4. Taxation

Members of the pueblos are taxed, not in currency but in labor and in produce. This method of taxation probably originated before Spanish currency was introduced among the villages and continued during the centuries when money was scarce.

Each person in the village contributes labor to the maintenance of public buildings, the irrigation system, and the upkeep of fences, wells, and watering places on the range.

#### 5. Distribution of Pueblo Assets

The most important asset of any Indian village is its land. Farming land is used individually whereas the range and timber lands are administered as a community enterprise. At the discretion of the pueblo officials misuse or non-use of these lands can result in this use-right being taken away and the land assigned to other individuals.

On the range and timber lands, grazing permits and timber or fuel permits are issued by the pueblo to individual members of the pueblo. Grazing permits may be issued by the Governor and Council with or without the help of the War Chief, depending upon the War Chief's position in the civil affairs of the village. (See under "War Chief.")

#### 6. Cattle Business

In those pueblos where livestock is an important source of income, various types of organizations have grown up to care for the livestock operations. Originally the War Chief was in charge of range land and livestock. In some pueblos, sheep and cattle officers have replaced the War Chief. In Isleta there is a Cattle Trust. In other pueblos there are livestock associations. Whatever the name of the organization, the duties of the man at the head are similar. He is in charge of all livestock operations in that pueblo. He allots range to individuals, issues permits for each livestock owner to run a specified number of animals, sees that the various pastures are used at the right season of the year, decides the time for dipping the animals to prevent infestation with vermin, repairs the dipping vats, collects dipping fees to cover the cost of the disinfectant used, collects fees for vaccine, and sees that all animals are vaccinated when necessary. He plans and supervises round-ups, classifies the animals for sale, advertises the animals designated for sale, invites buyers throughout the West to attend these sales. The animals are rounded up by the owners, brought to the corrals on the appointed day, and sold to the highest bidders.

Some villages have community herds of bulls and rams. These are taken care of by the cattle and sheep men themselves, and are rented out to individual livestock owners at the breeding seasons. Pay may be in the form of wool,

livestock, or money. The local association handles all of these payments with the help of the Farm Agent.

### 7. Farming

The Indians care for their own irrigation systems, unless the work cannot be accomplished without technical skill or the use of heavy machinery. They clean the ditches and regulate the flow of water, allot the amount of water each farmer can use, and see that the farmer does not use more than his share.

The provision of community labor on the irrigation ditches is the responsibility of the Governor. He may delegate this responsibility to the Mayordomo when there is such an elected officer. The Fiscal or War Chief, or both, may assist the Governor, according to the set-up of the village (discussed under the Functions of the Pueblo Governor).

### 8. Law Enforcement

The Pueblo Indians come under Federal, State and local law. Federal and local laws are operative within the reservations, whereas outside of the reservations State law is operative. Infringement of State laws is handled by the regular State policemen. The ten Federal crimes<sup>58</sup> are handled by Special Federal Officers and Indian policemen. Special Federal Officers may be connected directly with the United Pueblos Agency, or connected with the regional Federal law enforcement office.

The Special Officers with the policemen are primarily responsible for Federal law enforcement; they have no duties in connection with the local law enforcement unless they are requested to help by the governing body of the pueblo. The latter usually requests Special Officers, as well as the State Police, to assist in policing fiestas, since both State and Federal offenses often occur at such times.

Sheriffs listed in Table XII (distinct from policemen who are Federal employees, hence not listed in Table XII) derive their authority to deal with local law enforcement by reason of being appointed or selected in regular Pueblo fashion. The Sheriffs, or the persons delegated to act as Sheriffs, have the authority to stop trouble immediately wherever they find it. Cases which cannot be settled by the Sheriffs alone are taken to the higher authorities—the Governor or Council. Sheriffs serve notices or summonses upon all persons required to be present before the Governor or Council in civil or criminal proceedings.

In 1935 there existed confusion in the minds of both the Federal staff and local pueblo authorities as to which matters rightfully fell within State, Federal or local jurisdiction. For example, many domestic difficulties were referred to the Special Officers or the Superintendent, whereas the authority to deal with

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<sup>58</sup> The ten Federal crimes are listed in footnote 49.

such matters lay in the hands of the local authorities. In accordance with the policy of encouraging local autonomy, an attempt was made to delineate to those concerned with law enforcement and justice the categories in which various cases belonged. This resulted by 1943 in having cases heretofore referred outside the pueblo now settled by local officials, and this in turn allowed for a drastic reduction of the Federal law-enforcement staff. In 1943, one Special Officer assigned to the United Pueblos Agency, one Federal Officer assigned to the region, and three Indian policemen (in Zuni, Isleta and Acoma) handled all the work which in 1936 had kept sixteen officers busy.<sup>14</sup>

### *9. Activities Connected with World War II*

The Governor and Council undertook many new duties which arose in connection with the war. Gasoline and food rationing, the registration of draftees in the village, the Servicemen's Dependency Allowance Act, as well as the inclusion of a new group of income taxpayers, released a deluge of new and urgent problems. The procedures in connection with applicants, ration books, stamps, certificates or other documents required an ability to use English which many of the Governors and Councils did not possess. It was necessary, therefore, to assign an administrative assistant in the Federal agency whose whole time was given to handling war activities, and to call upon many members of the Federal staff for assistance, thus assuming executive functions which should have been placed in the hands of village authorities. This modification, however, was impermanent. Administration was later returned to the Governor and Council by appointing groups of English-speaking Indians within each pueblo whose knowledge of procedure was given them by an educational program known as the "Indian Aids Training Program." As these assistants familiarize the Governors and Councils with the necessary procedures, or as the demands made by war decrease, these assistants will be found less necessary and will probably be dispensed with, leaving the pueblo government as it was formerly.

It can be seen from this list of functions that the Governors and Councils have a wide range of duties, that many new responsibilities have been added since the days of the Spanish Conquistadores, and that inevitably the local governments have had to change to meet the new demands imposed upon them. The next two sections will deal, first, with the organization of the pueblo governments, and second, with the Indian Service policies.

### 3. ORGANIZATION OF PUEBLO GOVERNMENTS

The pueblo governments have been primarily modified by the changing

<sup>14</sup> The 1936 staff consisted of: 6 Special Federal Officers assigned to the United Pueblos Agency, 2 Federal Officers assigned to the region, and 8 Indian policemen situated as follows—Taos 2, San Felipe 1, Laguna 1, Jemez 1, Isleta 1, Zuni 2. The detailed duties and the officers who carry out law enforcement in each village are given under "Sheriff."

economy of the people, but the addition of some positions and the abolishing of others have also been due to increases or decreases of the population or to an increase in the number of subdivisions within each village.<sup>55</sup> Acoma people, for example, do not live, as they once did, the year round on the old rock, but inhabit two villages—Acomita and Santa Maria, about twelve and eleven miles respectively from Old Acoma. Santa Ana people live at El Ranchito, about ten miles from their original settlement up the Jemez River. Some Isleta people have settled at a place called Chicale. Laguna is now made up of six suburbs on the reservation besides the original village of Old Laguna, and of several settlements off the reservation. The six villages are Paguete, Paraje, Casa Blanca, Seama, Encinal, and Mesita.<sup>56</sup> The settlements are residences which the Laguna people established off the reservation when they went to work on the Santa Fe Railroad. Before the war there were settlements at Gallup, New Mexico; Winslow, Arizona; Los Angeles and Richmond, California. Zuni has four suburbs called Ojo Caliente, Nutria, Pescado, and Tekapo. San Juan boasts of a suburb called New York, but in the Tewa villages the summer homes near their irrigated fields are usually only temporary dwellings. There are two settlements at Nambe, called Upper Nambe and Lower Nambe.<sup>57</sup>

Before giving the detailed organization of each village, certain generalizations can be made for all of the villages. All the pueblos except Zuni have yearly selection of officers. Nominations or selections are made in December of each year, and the installation of new officers takes place in January according to Spanish custom. The term of office for every pueblo except Zuni is for the calendar year. In Zuni, the officers are elected for two years.

Table XII shows the officers in each village. The absence of an office in Table XII does not, however, necessarily mean the absence of the function. Many of the annually elected officers are responsible for more than one function. Almost no officials in any village receive any substantial pay in money.

Pojoaque is the only one of the New Mexico pueblos where there are only two officers traditionally found in a village. The reason the residents give for not having the usual number of officers is that Indian customs are not practiced because there are now too many non-Indians in Pojoaque who might give away Indian secrets.<sup>58</sup> However, the real reason probably lies in the fact that there are only five families in Pojoaque. Pojoaque had almost disappeared as a settlement as far back as 1882.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Watkins, 1939; Aberle, 1940.

<sup>56</sup> Hodge (1891) quotes Major George H. Pradt, who was for a number of years a resident of Laguna, as saying that "In 1891 there were eight suburbs of Laguna. Prior to 1870 and 1871 these suburbs were occupied only during the summer, but now they are occupied the year round by many families." Of the eight villages mentioned, six are now in existence—namely, Paraje, Paguete, Encinal, Casa Blanca, Mesita Negra, and Zi-amma (Seama).

<sup>57</sup> The population of the villages is shown in Table XI.

<sup>58</sup> Bandelier and Hewett, 1937. <sup>59</sup> Donaldson, 1893, p. 83.

The Governor and sometimes some of his officers have the canes symbolic of high office in old Spain as evidence of authority. These are given each year to the incoming officers as part of the installation ceremony. Originally there were at least three canes owned by the Governors—one given them by the King of Spain, one given them by the Mexican government, and one presented to them by Abraham Lincoln after the pueblos came under the United States government. Not all of the pueblos have all three canes today, but such as they have are hung on the wall of the front room of the Governor's house. If the canes are taken from the Governor, he feels that he has lost his authority. This has frequently happened. In recent years, it occurred at Isleta in 1943, at Zuni in 1943, and at Acoma in 1939.<sup>60</sup>

Officers of Taos and Picuris are sworn in by the County Clerk of Taos County on the second day of January. Each official has a certificate of office issued by the County Clerk. According to the Taos interpreter, this custom was started in Spanish times when the Alcalde of the Taos village wanted to know with whom to deal in the pueblo. When the pueblos came under the government of the United States and the records were kept in English instead of in Spanish, the certificates of office were issued to the Taos officials in English.

Thirteen of the villages have no written constitutions, organization charts or agreements about their civil governments. They operate entirely on the basis of unwritten laws and customs. In six villages, various forms have been devised as follows:

*Isleta*<sup>61</sup> has a written plan of action, outlining nominations and elections, drawn up by John Abeita in 1943, when he was Governor. *San Ildefonso*<sup>62</sup> has an agreement regarding the election of Governors drawn up February 10, 1943. *Laguna*<sup>63</sup> operates under a constitution written in 1907. A new constitution was drawn up by William Brophy (Special Attorney for the Pueblo Indians, 1934-1943) in 1936 preparatory to the Lagunas incorporating under the Indian Reorganization Act, but as yet they have not had their constitution formally

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<sup>60</sup> Files, United Pueblos Agency.

<sup>61</sup> Outline of Isleta Proposed Constitution in File 053.2, Isleta (Government, Elections, Disputes, etc.) 1943, United Pueblos Agency file.

<sup>62</sup> Agreement in File 053.10, San Ildefonso, United Pueblos Agency file. San Ildefonso for years has had two opposing factions—the North and South Sides. Representatives of both sides, on February 10, 1943, drew up and signed an agreement whereby the Governor is elected and nominated by the North and South Sides in alternate years. The quarrel originated partly because the South Side, being numerically smaller than the North Side, had not selected a Governor for their side for years, and finally refused to recognize the Governor selected by the North Side. For a detailed history of the split at San Ildefonso, see Whitman, 1940, and Bandelier and Hewett, 1937. These accounts present two different viewpoints. The government of two decades ago is described by Curtis, 1926, Vol. 17, pp. 38-42.

<sup>63</sup> Tentative Constitution and By-laws of the Pueblo of Laguna in File 053.4, Laguna, United Pueblos Agency file.

approved. *Zia*<sup>64</sup> wrote a constitution in 1937, but it has never been formally presented to the Federal office for approval. *Acoma*<sup>65</sup> wrote a one-page agreement at a meeting in the Federal agency on February 14, 1930, regarding the conduct of its nomination and election of officers. Zuni had an agreement as to its organization made about 1933; however, no written agreement has ever been located in the files. Santa Clara is the only one of the New Mexico pueblos organized under the Indian Reorganization Act.<sup>66</sup> The Santa Clara constitution, prepared by the pueblo with the help of William A. Brophy, was approved by the Secretary of the Interior, December 20, 1935; its adoption ended some fifty years of strife within the village. All of the documents adopted thus far came as a result of disputed elections and conform as nearly as possible to the Indians' concept of Pueblo government.

In any discussion of the organization of the villages, it must be remembered that the division of labor among the officials is not rigid. Men incapable of carrying out assignments are sometimes placed in positions of authority, thus necessitating someone else taking over the duties. New duties appear, calling for new officers or for reassignments among officers already existing. In practice, the friends of the Governor usually give him the most help, regardless of what particular people are on his staff.

The assumption of responsibility and execution of certain duties cannot always be confined to those supposedly in charge. An organization from one point of view is a pattern of operation existing in the minds of the people. The concept of an organization and its actual operation are never exactly the same. In this paper an effort has been made to give the organization of each village as it existed in 1943. When there was a discrepancy between what was said to exist by an official of the village and what was observed to occur, the observed form, checked for accuracy, was considered authentic.

#### GOVERNOR (*Inside Chief*)<sup>67</sup>

There is one Governor for each village. He is the executive head of the village, with judicial and legislative powers. This same authority was exercised by the Corregidores during Spanish times.<sup>68</sup> He is the liaison officer between the pueblo and all outside contacts, and in all villages except Isleta he is the Chairman of the Council (see under Council, Isleta). He has the authority to delegate responsibility to members of his staff.

The Governor and his staff usually serve for one year. From Agency records

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<sup>64</sup> Constitution and By-laws of the Pueblo of Zia (proposed) in File 053.15, Zia, United Pueblos Agency file.

<sup>65</sup> Agreement in File 053.0, Acoma, United Pueblos Agency file.

<sup>66</sup> Santa Clara, 1936.

<sup>67</sup> Governor is often called "Inside Chief."

<sup>68</sup> Villadiego, 1617, Chapter 5, pp. 79-87.



for the last nineteen years<sup>69</sup> (exclusive of Zuni), it is found, however, that 32 men served a term of two consecutive years, and 8 men served terms for three consecutive years. In Laguna, one man was Governor from 1941 to 1945. There are no records of longer consecutive terms except in Pojoaque, which cannot be considered typical. One man in Cochiti was Governor for as many as nine different years, but the terms were not successive. There are many instances of a man being Governor for three or four non-consecutive terms. In Tesuque, the governorship is rotated among four men.

There seems to be no particular effort to elect a man to the office of Lieutenant Governor before making him Governor. Some Lieutenant Governors have never been Governors, and Governors have later held the office of Lieutenant Governor.<sup>70</sup>

#### LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Table XII shows the number of Lieutenant Governors in each pueblo. The Lieutenant Governor, called *Teniente* in Spanish times, is next in rank to the Governor. He assists the Governor in all of his duties, and he is a member of the Council. In Zuni the Lieutenant Governor is also called "Mexican Chief."

The number of Lieutenant Governors appears to be consistent for each pueblo<sup>71</sup> from year to year, except in five instances where pueblos, usually having only one Lieutenant Governor, elected two. These instances occurred as follows: 1931, Sandia; 1928, 1930, 1934, Santa Clara; 1941, Santo Domingo.

#### WAR CHIEF (Table XII)

War Chief, a term not found in the colonial Spanish villages, is used consistently in this paper to designate a man chosen each year who may have civil as well as religious duties. Within the pueblo, though this officer is ordinarily called War Chief, he may be called War Captain, Hunt Chief, Outside Chief, etc. The differences in title are significant of the differences in the actual positions of the War Chiefs in different villages. In no other position does there exist the degree of inconsistency between the idea of the officer's duties and the duties he actually performs. It was not possible in every village to determine the exact duties of the War Chief because the responsibilities are rapidly changing. Clarification of the division of work comes through observation of the manner in which a person in the position functions; the full range of experiences never occurs in a single year and, by the time that a series of observations has been made, part of the original pattern may have changed.

In Zuni the War Chief is neither selected nor elected, but he must meet certain qualifications to be eligible to office. After initiation he holds the position for life. In the other villages yearly selections are made. The only pueblo

<sup>69</sup> Government records of officers for all of the New Mexico pueblos, exclusive of Zuni, for the last nineteen years.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*      <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

having no War Chief is Pojoaque. In Nambe, Santa Clara, Isleta, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuni, the official duties of the War Chief are primarily religious. In his capacity as a member of the tribe, however, he has civil duties. Religious duties consist, among other things, of maintenance of kivas, choosing of a custodian for the kiva when needed, serving as guard when dances are in progress, taking charge of ceremonial hunts and dances, announcing ceremonial events, leading in competitive games and races for his moiety; and also recruiting labor on certain community projects.

In those pueblos where the War Chief has civil duties, such duties can be summed up in the term "Outside Chief" in contrast to the Governor, who is Chief inside of the village. In such pueblos, he has charge of all matters relating to the range and woodland, and in some villages he has charge of all unassigned community land and is a member of the Council.

The War Chief is presumably in charge of range and stock in Cochiti, Jemez, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, Zia, Picuris, Sandia, and Taos. However, the War Chief's duties vary from year to year since the Governor handles all dealings between the pueblos and the staff of the Federal agency, and many matters pertaining to range management or the cattle business may never be referred to the War Chief. In Sandia, one of the cattle owners takes over the War Chief's duties with respect to range and livestock, although his position in relation to that of the War Chief has never been clarified.

The War Chief is responsible for unassigned irrigable land in Taos. This responsibility in other pueblos is almost impossible to clarify, since there is very little of this type of land remaining elsewhere than in Taos and Sandia. In Sandia, they have sufficient land to enable them to rent some to the Soil Conservation Service for an experimental nursery. The rent for this land is collected and distributed, not by the War Chief, but by the Governor.

In Cochiti, Jemez, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, Zia, San Juan, Tesuque, Picuris, Sandia, and Taos, the War Chief is on the Council. As a Council member, he assists the Governor, among other things, in supervising the community work on the irrigation ditches, and in some types of police duty. In Picuris, the War Chief has almost complete charge of ditch work. In other villages, the War Chief may be called in to assist the Council whenever he is needed. In Nambe and Tesuque, although he is mainly a religious officer, he has a place on the Council. In San Juan, it was the War Chief who stood ready to take over Selective Service should he be called upon.

The Catholic Church workers, represented by the Fiscales, form part of the War Chief's staff in Jemez, Santa Clara, Taos, and San Juan. In Picuris, where there are not enough men to fill all of the offices, the Fiscales work with the War Chief only on occasions when he needs them.

The place the War Chief occupies in San Ildefonso is not defined in the agreement of February 10, 1943, under which the pueblo operates. But his personal relation to the Governor was such that he helped with the ditch work.

## GOVERNOR'S HELPERS

This group of officers is found in some of the Keresan pueblos, and they are assistants to the Governor (Table XII). They are not found as civil officers in colonial Spanish villages, although *capitanes* are part of the military organization. They do whatever duties the Governor outlines for them to perform, such as to patrol the irrigation system, inspect the village and see that it is kept clean, act as guards on ceremonial days, or as law-enforcement officers, disciplinarians of children who are continually absent from school, or as messengers to the Governor and Council members. By this method they learn the duties and traditions of the offices.

## FISCAL

There are Fiscales connected with the civil organization in every pueblo except Pojoaque, Isleta, and Zuni. The Pojoaque people have no church of their own. The men who perform the duties of Fiscal in Isleta are called "Mayordomos of St. Augustine's Day" (their patron saint). The Zuni people have not been converted as a group to Catholicism as have most of the other New Mexico pueblos.<sup>72</sup>

There are two Catholic churches in Zuni, one unused, the other now in use. The old church and the graveyard connected with it are taken care of by the Zuni Council. When work needs to be done, they call on the villagers for help. The resident Priest at Zuni has nothing to do with the old Catholic church and graveyard. His responsibility is for the new church, but the people he chooses to help him are not called Fiscales and have no special title.

The Fiscales are primarily officers of the Catholic Church except at Laguna and Acoma. At Laguna, the Fiscales (spelled "Fiscals" here) work only under the Governor and are administratively in charge of three of the Laguna suburbs (the other three villages are the responsibility of the Governor and the two Lieutenant Governors). The Catholic and Protestant missionaries at Laguna take care of the maintenance of their own churches and the burials of their own parishioners. In Acoma, the Fiscales are on the Governor's staff and act as his assistants. Membership on the Church Committee at Acoma, made up of individuals who have charge of the Catholic Church, is inherited from one generation to the next. There are ten to twelve members on the committee, and individual families attend to their own burials.

In all of the other villages except those just mentioned (Pojoaque, Isleta, Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna), the Fiscales assist the Priest with his church work, taking up collections, maintaining the church, assisting with marriages and burials, and calling the people to services. In some villages, they gather together the agricultural produce which is paid to the Priest for his services.

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<sup>72</sup> The New Mexico pueblos, except for Laguna and Zuni, are predominately Catholic. The Zuni people are divided between two religions—Catholic and Christian Reform. In Laguna, the people are mostly Catholics or Presbyterians. In 1944 there were some Baptists.

In the villages<sup>6</sup> of Jemez, Taos, Picuris, San Juan, and Santa Clara, the Fiscales are on the War Chief's staff.

In San Ildefonso, the Fiscales' relation to the Governor is not defined in the agreement of February 10, 1943, under which they operate.

Fiscales are on the Council, and as such they accept from the Governor assignments which may or may not have to do with church matters.

As members of the Council, they become administrative aides to the Governor in the villages of Acoma, Cochiti, Jemez, Laguna, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, Zia, Nambe, San Juan, Tesuque, Picuris, Sandia, and Taos.

Fiscales help with the irrigation ditches in the villages where they are on the Council and where there is no regularly appointed Mayordomo, i.e., Cochiti, Jemez, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Zia, Nambe, San Juan, Tesuque, and Taos. (Table XII)

#### SHERIFF

Sheriff in the colonial Spanish villages was called *Alguacil Mayor*, which term is occasionally used today. Crimes which lie within the authority of the local pueblo officials are first handled by the Sheriff, or whoever acts as law-enforcement officer for the group.<sup>73</sup>

In Acoma, the Sheriff handles matrimonial troubles. The Sheriff is a member of the Council, except at Zuni. One or more Sheriffs are found at Acoma, Jemez, Nambe, San Juan, Santa Clara, Isleta, Picuris, Sandia and Taos.

In those pueblos where no Sheriff is regularly elected, the duties are carried as follows: Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, Zia—by the Governor or someone on his staff to whom he delegates the work; Tesuque, by the Lieutenant Governor; Laguna, by the Mayordomos of the villages; and at Zuni, the Indian policeman, paid from Federal funds, acts as Sheriff and works with the Governor. Since he is not primarily a local official, he is not listed in Table XII. The position of Sheriff is not mentioned in the agreement under which San Ildefonso is operating. By the 1943 agreement, six<sup>74</sup> people are appointed to run the San Ildefonso government each year, and it is assumed that one acts as Sheriff.

#### INTERPRETER

The Interpreter must be able to speak the Indian tongue of his tribe, and also English and Spanish. He must translate from one of those languages into either of the others.

Interpreters are selected yearly in Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, Santo Domingo, Santa Clara, and Zuni. In Tesuque, Isleta, Picuris, and Nambe, an Interpreter is appointed when needed. Most of these people speak all three languages themselves, and the help of an Interpreter is not often necessary. Interpreters in the other pueblos are as follows:

<sup>73</sup> For the Sheriff's duties see Part 8 under C, "Executive."

<sup>74</sup> In the first part of the agreement, the Governor and two people from each side are specified. On the last page of the agreement six people are mentioned as the total number to be chosen.

Jemez—Governor or Lieutenant Governor; San Felipe—Governor or Councilman; Santa Ana—Councilman; Zia—Governor or Councilman; San Ildefonso—Governor; San Juan—either Lieutenant Governor or most able Councilman; Sandia—Lieutenant Governor; Taos—any able man, usually a Fiscal, who does not need to be a member of the Council.

Interpreters are members of the Council in Laguna, Santa Clara, Acoma, Cochiti, and Santo Domingo.

#### *TREASURER*

Treasurers are appointed in Laguna, Santa Clara, Tesuque, and Isleta. The Treasurer at Tesuque has been the same man for many years, although each year the Governor is said to have the right to ask someone else to serve should he wish.

The duties of the Treasurer in these villages are as follows:

In Santa Clara, where the people operate the Puye Cliff Ruins, the Treasurer handles and accounts for the money brought in. Tourists are charged fifty cents each for admittance, thus bringing in a good revenue to the pueblo.

For seventeen or more years prior to 1940, the same man served at Isleta. Before 1936, the Isleta people rented their range to non-Indian stockmen, thus bringing in a revenue to the pueblo. In 1934, they acquired a cattle herd, for which they finished paying in 1936. This herd makes a profit of around \$8,000 to \$14,000 a year, which money is managed by the Treasurer of the Cattle Trust. Some of this cattle fund is turned over to the Pueblo Treasurer for distribution to the Isleta people. Since the Pueblo Treasurer handled thousands of dollars, in 1943 he was bonded. The bond was for \$5,000, and is paid for by community funds. This was the first time that a Pueblo Treasurer was bonded. In 1944, the Council lowered the amount of the bond to cover only the amount of the budget planned for the year.

In three villages where Treasurers are appointed, Santa Clara, Tesuque, and Isleta, they are members of the Council. The Treasurer is not a member of the Council in Laguna.

The Governor acts as Treasurer at San Ildefonso, Picuris, Nambe, and usually at San Juan. Either the Governor or someone he appoints acts as Treasurer in the other villages. (Table XII)

#### *SECRETARY*

The Secretaries attend Council meetings, keep minutes, and write letters for the Governor.

At Taos, the Secretary also handles pueblo funds. Taos charges twenty-five cents admission for every car which parks within the pueblo, and thus makes a good revenue for the village. At Taos, the official stationery is printed with "The Pueblo of Taos" at the top, and they have a typewriter and an adding machine to lighten the work of the Secretary.

Seven pueblos have Secretaries: Acoma, Laguna, Pojoaque, Santa Clara, Isleta, Taos, and Zuni.

The Secretaries are voting members of the Council in Acoma, Laguna, Santa Clara, Pojoaque, Taos, and at Isleta, if the Secretary is also a Councilman.

Isleta and Taos each have two Secretaries. At Taos, one Secretary assists the Governor while the other assists the War Chief. At Isleta, in 1944, the Governor appointed, in addition to the Secretary who serves the Council, another man to be his own Private Secretary.

#### CATTLE OFFICERS

Cattle officers are found in those pueblos where the cattle business is an important source of income—Acoma, Laguna, Zuni, Isleta, and Santa Clara. They are elected in the first three pueblos listed. The Cattle Officer assumes duties pertaining to the handling of cattle, as well as the complicated business duties which have arisen as the industry developed from a subsistence to a commercial enterprise. He also takes over those range duties which once belonged to the War Chief.<sup>75</sup>

In Isleta, the individual owners of cattle appointed, from among their members, four men to represent them in 1939, but they do not have an official Cattle Officer. Since then, one man has died and no one has yet been appointed to fill his place. The Cattle Trust in Isleta is charged with the responsibility of the range and livestock administration and handles all the business of caring for the cattle, sales, exhibiting at the State Fair, etc., for a herd of 858 cattle (January 1, 1943). The Governor is an ex-officio member, and is the person who presents any matters pertaining to range and livestock to members of the pueblo.

#### SHEEP OFFICERS

Sheep Officers are elected by sheep owners in Acoma, Laguna, and Zuni, where sheep are an important source of income. Sheep are not owned to any great extent in the other pueblos.

#### MAYORDOMOS

The main duty of the Mayordomos, except for Laguna, is to oversee cleaning the ditches and to regulate the water supply after the water is flowing. Opening the ditch comes under the jurisdiction of another group of officers, discussed by Parsons.<sup>76</sup>

Mayordomos are elected: 4 in Acoma, 21 in Laguna, 2 in Santa Ana, 1 in Sandia, and 10 in Isleta.

In Acoma, one head and one assistant Mayordomo care for the Acomita and Santa Maria ditches.

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<sup>75</sup> For duties connected with livestock *see* under "Economy."

<sup>76</sup> Parsons, 1939, p. 1117. For details of the civil duties *see* under "Farming."

In Santa Ana, the head Mayordomo, in charge of irrigation, is called the general ditch boss.

Isleta has a head man and an assistant on each of the four ditches: i.e., Pueblo, Chicale, Cacique, Los Charcos; and two Mayordomos are in charge of the Isleta Catholic Church and the feast on St. Augustine's Day.

In Laguna, the Mayordomos are the heads of the villages. The 21 Mayordomos are distributed as follows: 6 at Laguna, 4 at Paguete, 2 at Mesita, 2 at Encinal, 3 at Seama, 4 at Casa Blanca. Besides caring for the irrigation ditches at each of these villages, they have charge of roads, fences, watering places, and act as police.

Mayordomos attend all meetings which have to do with irrigation and any other meetings in which they happen to be interested.

In the other villages, the work on the irrigation ditches is handled as follows: In Cochiti, Jemez, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Zia, San Juan, and Picuris, the Governor, assisted by the War Chief, or Fiscal, or someone else from the Governor's staff, is responsible for irrigation.

In Nambe, Taos, and Tesuque, the Fiscales care for irrigation under the direction of the Governor.

In Zuni, the Tenientes in charge of each village are the caretakers of the irrigation ditches in that village.

In Santa Clara, the Governor has charge of the ditches.

In San Ildefonso, the Governor had charge of the ditches in 1943, but the responsibility for the ditches is not clearly delineated.

#### TOWN CRIER

News in each village is announced by one or more Town Criers. This office was found in villages in many parts of the world prior to modern methods of communication. Town Criers announce meetings of the Council or meetings the Federal office may have requested with the Governor and Council, the arrival of barbed wire or wagons purchased from Compensation or community money, dates for community work, time for the men who wish work to sign up for either Federal work or work away from the reservation (recruitment of labor is done through the Governor), Allied victories or reverses, decorations or fame of local boys in the war, Selective Service laws, news of those who must pay the income tax, and all events in which the people should be interested or should participate.

In Jemez, anyone who has a good voice may act as Town Crier, although he is usually chosen from the Council. In Laguna, one man is chosen yearly for each of the six villages. Isleta has an officer chosen by the Governor at the first of the year. The Lieutenant Governor or Sheriff calls out news in San Juan, the Sheriff in Santa Clara, and the Governor or one of the Lieutenant Governors in Tesuque. In Zuni, a Teniente

usually acts as Town Crier. In the other villages, the Governor himself, or someone he appoints from his staff, calls the news.

#### OFFICIAL CHAUFFEUR

Official Chauffeur has been turned in to the Federal office only once as an officer of the year at San Felipe.

#### COUNCIL

Councils were found in all colonial Spanish villages. Council meetings are attended by any male in the village who may be interested in the questions to be decided. The number attending any one meeting depends upon the importance of the subject in the lives of the people. For instance, when the tallies as to the carrying capacities for the ranges have been made and are presented to the cattle and sheep people, every sheep and cattle man in the village will be present. If the subject concerns a well, then only residents of that village in which the well is located will attend. Council members, because of their position, are obligated to be there.

In Santa Clara, Council meetings are scheduled for at least once a month. In other pueblos, there is no set time for meetings. Women sometimes attend meetings in Santa Clara but they seldom appear in Council meetings in other pueblos.

Members of the Council in some pueblos are called *Principales* instead of "Councilmen." The word "Principales" was used to designate the important men in the Spanish villages of the Renaissance. In actual practice, the distinction between "Councilman" and "Principal" is vague, except in those pueblos where Principales are appointed or have the title because they hold some office.<sup>77</sup> In the Keres pueblos, "Principales" are men who have held the office of War Captain, Governor, and Fiscal. Leslie White speaks of "Principales" in San Felipe.<sup>78</sup> In Acoma "Principales" are appointed by the Cacique. In the Tewa villages, "Principales" are ex-Governors. In Taos and Picuris they are the heads of societies.

A Principal in Isleta was defined by John Abeita, the 1943 Governor, as a man outstanding for his wisdom and his efforts to help his people. Therefore, any good Governor or Councilman automatically is a Principal during his term of office, and after his term of office is over if he continues to be interested in the welfare of his people. The qualities which were considered important enough to allow a man to be called a Principal may have changed. A century ago, the distinction of being a Principal may have rested upon religious merits alone. Today, with the large amount of business many of the pueblos conduct, a knowledge of money matters, banking, and the ability to speak English

<sup>77</sup> French, David, Dissertation for a Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University (Mss.), 1943, p. 57.

<sup>78</sup> White, 1932, p. 16.



may count heavily in a man's usefulness to his pueblo, and they may be the qualities of the present-day "Principales."

The duties of the Council are legislative and judicial and advisory to the Governor. When the Council acts in its judicial capacity, it is not formalized into a judge and a jury; the Council members all act together when trying cases.

*Acoma.* The Council consists of the Governor and his staff, i.e., two Lieutenant Governors, Interpreter and Secretary, and Principal men, usually ten, who are chosen by the Cacique to act on the Council.<sup>79</sup> Mayordomos, Cattle and Sheep Officers are not regular members of the Council. Fiscales are not considered Council members, but they have a voice in Council meetings as part of the Governor's staff, as do the Sheriffs and Interpreters. Anyone who wishes may attend Council meetings. During a Council meeting in January of 1939, concerning an election dispute, the room was crowded and the discussion between people in the meeting was so heated that it was impossible to ascertain the facts of the case. After a time, the Governor asked everyone to leave except the regular Council and the people who were disputing. At that, over three-fourths of the people left. This was considered a legitimate procedure, showing that any persons may attend the meetings at Acoma, but formal meetings can also be conducted with only the Governor and Council.

*Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, and Zia.* Councils consist of the Governor and his staff, i.e., Lieutenant Governor, Governor's Helpers, War Chief and helpers, Fiscal and helpers, and the permanent members of the Council who are all ex-Governors, ex-Lieutenant Governors, ex-Head War Chiefs, and ex-Head Fiscales. Helpers of the Governor, Fiscales, and War Chiefs do not become permanent members of the Council. Additional Council members include the Interpreters and Town Crier at Santo Domingo, Interpreters at Cochiti, and Mayordomos at Santa Ana.

*Jemez.* Jemez has the same Council as the Keres pueblos just mentioned, except that the Sheriffs are on the Council and the Town Crier may be a Council member.

*Nambe.* The same Councilmen remain from year to year unless someone dies and a new member is admitted. Members of the Council are the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Fiscales, and Sheriff. The War Chief also has a place on the Council.

*San Ildefonso.* The governing body defined by the agreement of February 10, 1943, consists of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor (one representing the North and one the South Side, alternating each year), two representatives of the North and two representatives of the South Side. A majority vote is final in deciding a disputed issue.

*San Juan.* The Council consists of the Governor, two Lieutenant Governors, Fiscal, Sheriff, all ex-Governors, two Caciques, six society heads, and the War Chief. In the old days, the Council members used to speak in turn.<sup>80</sup> In 1943, a majority of the Council was considered a quorum which could act.

<sup>79</sup> The Governor and his officers do not automatically become members of the Council after their term of office expires, as at some of the other pueblos.

<sup>80</sup> Shevsky, E. *The Indian Pueblos, Tewa Basin Study*. Indian Land Research Unit and Resettlement Administration, Washington, 1935. (Manuscript)

*Pojoaque.* All persons of voting age (voting age as defined by the State of New Mexico, which is twenty-one and over) are consulted on any question which is of interest to the community.

*Laguna.* The Laguna Council consists of the Governor and his staff, two Lieutenant Governors, one head Fiscal and two assistant Fiscales, Interpreter, and Secretary. The Treasurer is not a member of the Council. No permanent annual Council, except the above, is appointed. At each meeting of the Council, representatives of the villages may attend. The Council meetings are attended by from 100 to 300 people. Most of the Laguna people are keenly interested in civil affairs.

*Picuris.* The Council consists of the Governor, War Chief and his staff, Fiscal, Sheriff, past officers, head men, and all men over twenty-one years of age.

*Sandia.* The Council consists of the Governor of the year, Lieutenant Governor, War Chief and his staff, Fiscal and his staff, and Sheriff, ex-Governors, ex-Lieutenant Governors, ex-War Chiefs and ex-Fiscales.

*Taos.* The Council consists of the Governor of the year and his officers, i.e., Lieutenant Governor, Captain of War and his staff, Fiscal and staff, Sheriffs, and Secretaries of both the Governor and the War Captain. Included also are the following persons who have served in previous years: War Captain and War Captain's first three helpers, Governor, Lieutenant Governor (Governor's Right-Hand Man), Head Sheriff (Governor's Left-Hand Man), and Head Fiscal.

*Santa Clara.* The Council is defined in its written constitution and consists of: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, eight representatives (two from each of the four parties), Secretary, Treasurer, Interpreter, and Sheriff.

*Tesuque.* The Council consists of the Governor, two Lieutenant Governors, Sheriff, Fiscal, and Principal men.<sup>2</sup> When the case is difficult, the War Captains are called in if they are not already there.

*Isleta.* The Council consists of the Governor, two Lieutenant Governors, two Sheriffs, and twelve appointed members. Six are appointed by the Indian Office and six appointed by the Governor (see footnote no. 61), and each of these twelve members is given a certificate of office by the Federal Indian Agency. The certificate is typewritten, and has a gold seal with blue tape. The Council elects its own President and Vice-President. The President acts as Chairman. The Cattle Trustees do not, by reason of their office, become Council members.

*Zuni.* The Zuni Council consists of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Tenientes. No ex-officials become permanent Council members. The Sheep and Cattle Officers attend when matters to be discussed have to do with livestock. Council meetings at Zuni average about 50 to 75 people. A meeting of 125 people is unusually large. That was the attendance on July 19, 1943, when the impeachment of a Governor was under discussion, something which one would have expected to be of interest to every citizen. The Zuni people as a group are not interested in civil affairs, probably because the government is not geared to fit into their thinking. A serious weakness in their government is the absence of Principales, whose duty it is to maintain the continuity of the business

<sup>2</sup> Principal men in Tesuque are the ex-Governors.

of the pueblo from year to year, to help the new officers learn their work, and to form a consultant group wise in the ways of government.

#### SELECTION OF OFFICERS<sup>82</sup>

*Acoma.* The Cacique appoints all officers with the exception of his own successor and the medicine men, according to White.<sup>83</sup> Today, four Mayordomos are nominated and elected by the people using the ditches. There are two villages—Acomita and McCartys (Santa Maria)—with two Mayordomos for each village. The Sheep and Cattle Officers are nominated and elected by the Sheep and Cattle men. There are four Sheep Officers, two for each village, and two Cattle Officers, one for each village. These men elect their own leaders.

*Cochiti.* The officers selected are Governor, Lieutenant Governor, War Chief and assistants, Fiscal and assistants. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor are nominated by the Giant Curing Society.<sup>84</sup> The War Captain and First Lieutenant are nominated by the Flint Curing Society, and the Fiscal and his lieutenant by the Cikame Curing Society. They are presented by the head men of the societies to the Principales for their approval. The Governor, Fiscal, three of the head men, and War Captain are always chosen from kivas different from those of their first assistants. The six Fiscal Helpers and the six helpers of the War Captain are nominated and elected by the Principales. Half belong to the Squash group and half to the Turquoise group.<sup>85</sup>

*Jemez.* The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, War Chief and assistants, and Fiscal and assistants are chosen by the hierarchy or chiefs of all the societies.<sup>86</sup> The Town Crier was a life position according to Parsons in 1925.

*San Felipe.* The officers, consisting of the Governor, his lieutenant, eight Governor's Helpers, six Fiscales, and two War Captains and their helpers are selected by the Cacique with the advice of two society heads.<sup>87</sup>

*Santa Ana.* The main officers, including the ditch boss, are selected by the Cacique. It is not known whether the Cacique chooses the helpers of each office or whether they are chosen by the head men.<sup>88</sup>

*Santo Domingo.* The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Governor's Helpers, Fiscal and his helpers are appointed by the head of the Cikame Society. The Flint Society head appoints the War Chief and his helpers.<sup>89</sup>

*Zia.* The officers are selected by the Cacique with the advice of the Giant

<sup>82</sup> The reluctance of the Pueblo Indians to have facts of their religion published is well known. Occupying as I did a position of confidence with the people, I cannot publish any material relating to their religious life. Hence, in those villages where the selection of officers is in the hands of the religious authorities, the method of choosing the officers will be given only from the available published material. <sup>83</sup> White, 1932, pp. 17-192.

<sup>84</sup> Goldfrank, 1927, pp. 25-27; Demarest, 1919.

<sup>85</sup> Goldfrank, 1927, pp. 25-27.

<sup>86</sup> Parsons, 1925, pp. 56-57.

<sup>87</sup> White, 1932, pp. 14-19.

<sup>88</sup> White, 1942, pp. 105-109.

<sup>89</sup> White, 1935, pp. 35-79.

and Cikame Societies. The names are presented to the Principales for their approval. One War Chief is chosen from each kiva group.

*Nambe.* The officers are chosen by the Winter Chief and by the Town Chiefs.<sup>90</sup>

*San Juan.* The old men or chiefs form a Council. They appoint the secular officers, who are installed by the Town Chiefs.<sup>91</sup> The Town Crier is, according to Parsons,<sup>92</sup> a lifelong but secular officer.<sup>93</sup>

*Tesuque.* The officers are selected by the heads of the Summer and Winter people and by the *Samaiyo*.<sup>94</sup>

*Taos.* The officers are nominated by the Cacique and two or more high priests, and are voted on by the Council.<sup>95</sup>

In Pojoaque, Laguna, Santa Clara, and Zuni, all officers are chosen by the people. The following material is condensed from observations made in the field and from constitutions, all as yet unpublished except the one written by Santa Clara.<sup>96</sup>

*Pojoaque.* In a pueblo of only twenty-five people, the procedure of choosing officers is informal, without regular meetings. The people decide whom they want each year and those people are put in office.

*San Ildefonso.* The method of choosing officers is determined by the agreement of February 10, 1943,<sup>97</sup> which provides that the two head men of the North and South Sides shall select men for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor in alternate years, and four representatives, two from the North Side and two from the South Side. The head men of the North Side select the Governor; the head men of the South Side select the Lieutenant Governor. This agreement expired December 31, 1945.

*Laguna.*<sup>98</sup> Each of the six villages nominates a man for Governor. The six names are voted upon by all the people at general meetings. The man receiving the greatest number of votes is made Governor; the man receiving the next largest number of votes is First Lieutenant Governor and so on down in this order: Second Lieutenant Governor, Head Fiscal, First Lieutenant Fiscal, Second Lieutenant Fiscal, etc. Each person votes for one man out of the six.

The Interpreter, Secretary, Treasurer, and War Captain are nominated and elected at the general election.

<sup>90</sup> The Governor of Nambe told the Superintendent that each year the people are given the opportunity to vote for officials or have them chosen by the Indian custom. Every year, including 1944, the people have decided to go by the Indian custom. See Parsons, 1929, p. 107.

<sup>91</sup> Parsons, 1939, p. 912.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>93</sup> Parsons, 1929, pp. 102, 106.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>95</sup> Parsons, 1939, p. 933; Bandelier and Hewett, 1937; Laswell, 1935; Parsons, 1936, p. 71.

<sup>96</sup> Santa Clara, 1936.

<sup>97</sup> United Pueblo Agency File, San Ildefonso Agreement.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Tentative draft of the proposed Constitution of the Pueblo of Laguna.

Each of the six villages elects its own Sheep and Cattle Officers. At a general election, Pueblo Cattle and Sheep Officers are chosen by all the stockmen.

Mayordomos are village, not pueblo, officers. They are nominated and elected by each village.

All elections are conducted by standing vote.

*Santa Clara.* The Santa Clara Constitution<sup>99</sup> reads as follows:

Page 2, Article III—Sec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6—

Sec. 2. Election of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary, Treasurer, Interpreter, and Sheriff.—On the first Saturday of each year an election shall be held within the Pueblo of Santa Clara, at which a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, secretary, treasurer, interpreter, and sheriff shall be elected by secret ballot to serve for the ensuing year.

Sec. 3. Who may vote.—Every member of the Pueblo of Santa Clara who is of sane mind and over 18 years of age may vote at any election. Any member who is absent from the pueblo on the date of any election shall have the right to vote by mail under such rules as may be prescribed by the pueblo council.

Sec. 4. Candidates.—Candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, secretary, treasurer, interpreter, and sheriff shall be nominated at least fifteen (15) days before the date upon which each election is to be held. Nominations for the first election shall be made by the recognized parties now existing within the pueblo. Thereafter, nominations shall be made in a manner prescribed by the council of the pueblo.

Sec. 5. Representatives.—Two representatives shall be appointed to the pueblo council upon the date of the first election, for a term of 1 year by each of the four recognized parties now existing within the pueblo, and in all future elections eight representatives shall be chosen in a manner to be prescribed by the council.

Sec. 6. Manner of elections.—All nominations for office and elections shall be made and held in a manner prescribed by the council of the pueblo.

*Isleta.* There have been political quarrels in Isleta as far back as 1852. The Isletas took up their difficulties with the Governor of the Territory. Since 1887, when Domingo Juipe, who was the last real Cacique, died, troubles have been almost continuous.<sup>100</sup> The difficulties have centered about the proper procedure for elections. For the last few years the controversies have been bitter and, as the method of electing officers is disputed, only the actual procedure which has been followed is given; that is, the method one group considers authentic. Four men are nominated for Governor, one by the Cacique and his assistants, one by the Principales including Clan Heads and older men, one by the retiring Governor, and one by the people on election day, although this nomination does not always take place. Pablo Abeita said in 1921

<sup>99</sup> Santa Clara, 1936.

<sup>100</sup> French, 1943, p. 20. (See footnote 77.)

that the Cacique, his assistants, and the Principales met together in the Governor's house before the election. Usually both of the first two mentioned groups endorse the nomination of the other, but the nominations may be changed during the discussion.

These four names are then presented to the people at a general election, and the Governor is elected by standing vote. The War Captain is elected in the same manner as is the Governor. After the Governor is elected, he asks the people to choose two Lieutenant Governors for him. The people turn the choice back to the Governor and, usually within a week or ten days he chooses his Lieutenants. He then chooses half of his Council in the same manner, first asking the people to choose for him. The Governor brings to the pueblo office the names of the six men he would like the Agency to appoint. In the last five years, the Superintendent asked that the Governor appoint his entire Council. If the Governor does not wish to do so, the Agency appoints six men on the Council.

After the Council is appointed, the members choose their own President and Vice-President. The Governor, with the aid of the Council, chooses the two Sheriffs, Secretary, and Treasurer. In 1944, the Governor chose for himself a second Secretary. The Governor asks a man to be Town Crier, usually the same man each year.<sup>101</sup>

Each group of people using a ditch appoints a Mayordomo for that ditch; there are four in all. The Mayordomo in turn asks the people to appoint assistants for him, and they ask that he appoint his own assistants, which he does.

The election of officers for the Cattle Trust is prescribed in Amendment and Supplement to Trust Indenture dated July 1, 1939, as follows:

The aforesaid Trustees have been appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall within — days from the date hereof appoint as Trustees under said Trust Indenture, five (5) members of the Pueblo of Isleta. One of said persons shall be appointed for a period of one year from April 1, 1940; another of said persons shall be appointed for a period of two years from April 1, 1940; another of said persons shall be appointed for a period of three years from April 1, 1940; another of said persons shall be appointed for a period of four years from April 1, 1940; another of said persons shall be appointed for a period of five years from April 1, 1940. One of the said persons shall be by said Commissioner appointed Secretary-Treasurer of said Trustees. Upon the termination of the appointment of each of said persons a new Trustee shall be appointed by said Commissioner for a period of five years. Any Trustee whose term shall have expired shall be eligible for re-appointment for said period of five years. The pueblo of Isleta shall have the right to recommend to said Commissioner the names of qualified members of said pueblo for selection by said Commissioner as Trustee.

*Zuni.* Since 1933, the year of the disagreement over selection of officers, a

<sup>101</sup> According to Parsons this is a life appointment (Parsons 1939: Vol. I, p. 123).

committee of six men appointed by Superintendent Trotter has selected the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. This committee was supposed to be changed by the people every two years, but no procedure was set up to care for the change, and the original committee stayed in power eight years before new members were chosen. During that period, one member left the pueblo and the vacancy was not filled. The names of the men chosen by this committee for Governor and Lieutenant Governor are presented to the people at a general election, and the people vote on them. However, there are no regulations set up should the people disagree with the selection made by the committee. The whole procedure is vague in everyone's mind. Nothing was written on the matter, and the confusion results in misunderstandings and bitter quarrels.

The Council, called *Tenientes*, are nominated and elected by the villages as follows: in 1943, the First *Teniente* came from Zuni, Second *Teniente* from Ojo Caliente; Third *Teniente* from Nutria; Fourth *Teniente* from Zuni; Fifth *Teniente* from Nutria; Sixth *Teniente* from Pescado; none from Tekapo.

The Sheriff is chosen and paid by the Federal Government.

Certain generalizations can be made from the mass of detail just given: (1) The only two offices found in every New Mexico Indian village are those of Governor and Lieutenant Governor. The next most constant office is that of War Chief, found in all but one village, while the office of Fiscal is found in only fifteen of the nineteen pueblos. (2) Officers of the same name perform different functions in different villages. Example: Isleta has *Mayordomos* who care for the church as well as for the irrigation ditches. In Acoma, the *Mayordomos* care only for ditches. In Laguna, the *Mayordomos* are village Sheriffs. (3) The same functions in different pueblos are performed by different people. Example: Law and order are carried out in the Tewa villages by a Sheriff, by *Mayordomos* in Laguna, by Governor's Helpers in most of the Keres pueblos. (4) There is not a separate office for each function. The executive functions are all performed by the Governor in the smaller villages. An example of a small village is Pojoaque. In the larger villages functions are delegated, as in Laguna and Santo Domingo. (5) The civil organization of the New Mexico pueblos cannot be sharply divided according to the linguistic groups into which they fall. Pueblos within the same linguistic group do not always have the same set of pueblo officers nor are the duties attached to certain offices identical. Two examples of the preceding statement can be noted: (1) The officers called Helpers of the Governor, though found only in villages of the Keres group, are not found in all of these villages. The exceptions are Acoma and Laguna, where they have no officers called Governor's Helpers. (2) The Fiscals in Laguna have duties which differ from those of the other Keres *Fiscales*. If the Pueblo villages are considered in geographical units, more similarities are evident. The Keres of the middle Rio Grande valley have much the same organization. Laguna and

Acoma have much in common with each other and differ from the northern Keres villages. Picuris and Taos are similar, as are Sandia and Isleta, while Zuni, the farthest away from the other villages, has an organization unlike any other pueblo.

In the Tewa and Tanoan groups, some of the people who help the Governor with law and order are known as Sheriffs. Tewa Councils are usually smaller than those found in the Keres or Tanoan pueblos.

New responsibilities are delegated sometimes to new officers, for example: (1) Treasurer, (2) Secretary, (3) Sheep and Cattle Officers, (4) Official Chauffeur; and sometimes to old officers, for example: War Chief assumes responsibility for Selective Service. Old officers lose certain duties as the pattern changes. Example: The War Chief in Santa Clara, Acoma, Laguna, and Isleta has lost his civil duties and is responsible for only religious affairs at the present time. In Nambe and Tesuque, he has lost all his civil duties except that of membership on the Council.

There are variations from year to year not only in the number of people in each category and in the actual officers elected, but also in the turnover. (1) The number of helpers of the War Chief, Governor, and Fiscal fluctuates. (2) Certain offices, such as Official Chauffeur, may be filled only as the need arises. (3) The Governor of Laguna has been elected for four successive terms.

There is no direct relationship between the number of civil officers and the population of a village. (Table XII)

The old type of organization, with equal authority for the Governor, Fiscal, and War Captain, is dominated by the religious leaders. Religion is an integral part of the government except in dealing with the outside, where the religious part of the organization may be entirely divorced from the civil.

#### 4. FUNCTIONING OF THE PUEBLO GOVERNMENT AS IT AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL

The Pueblo Indian who holds no civil office has few if any dealings with State or Federal officials during his lifetime. He may meet the Federal employees at open Council meetings, but all of his dealings on matters of general policy are transacted through the Governor and Council. If he gets into a controversy with his neighbor over land, or with his wife over some domestic difficulty, the matter is settled by the Sheriff on the spot, or taken to the Governor and Council. If he needs help or wants work he applies to the Governor; if his child is taken sick it is the Governor who has access to the village telephone and summons the nurse or doctor. In a few instances the Public Health nurse may live near enough to be called upon directly. If he wants new, disease-free seeds, or a registered bull, things he cannot purchase locally, he contacts the Governor, or whomever the Governor may have assigned to the work.



The Town Crier tells him the time and amount of his tax which is paid in community work on public buildings, irrigation ditches, or the church, or in connection with a fiesta. The Town Crier announces the time for planting and the time for harvesting crops. He learns through the Town Crier the news of the war, the death of a President, the arrival of community machinery, jobs for which he may apply if he is interested, opening of school, the arrival of the bus to take his children to boarding school, Council meetings; in fact, all of the events of local, national or international importance.

If he disobeys a pueblo law he finds himself confronted by the Sheriff. The activities of World War II, Selective Service, servicemen's benefits, and all related matters are first handled by some local official, and only when they become too complicated for local action are the matters turned over to the Federal authorities.

An individual coming into the Federal office with a local problem, who has not taken the question to the Governor or Council, is referred back to the village. There is no machinery within the organization of the United Pueblos Agency to deal with business which is the responsibility of the pueblo civil authorities.

## 5. UNITED PUEBLOS AGENCY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE PUEBLO GOVERNMENT

### A. *Reorganization Act*

The policies of the Indian Service can be summed up in the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934.<sup>108</sup> The Act applies to all of the pueblos except Jemez. Therefore, in discussing the relation of the Act to the pueblos, Jemez will be excluded throughout. The Act, as it applies to the other eighteen pueblos, prohibits the allotment or the alienation of Indian lands, authorizes the acquisition by the government of new lands for landless Indians, vests real but limited power in the tribal organizations of the Indians, establishes a source of financial credit for the tribes, and authorizes money to be used for college and technical training of Indians.

The Act defines Indians to be (a) all persons of Indian descent who are members of a tribe under Federal jurisdiction; (b) all persons who are descendants of such members and who, on June 1, 1934, resided on an Indian reservation; and (c) all persons of one-half or more Indian blood. Adults include all people over twenty-one years of age.

Under the Act, the allotment of Indian reservations and the alienation of

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<sup>108</sup> 48 Stat. 984; 40 Stat. 561, 570 prohibits the creation or addition of land to reservations in New Mexico. Various appropriation acts prevent the use of Federal funds for land purchase for New Mexico Indians.

restricted Indian lands are prohibited (Secs. 1, 4). The existing trust restrictions on Indian lands as well as the restraints on alienation of them are continued until further action by Congress (Sec. 2). With exceptions, surplus tribal land is ordered to be restored to the tribes (Sec. 3), and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire land and water rights within and without reservations to provide lands for Indians.<sup>102</sup> Title to these lands would be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the Indian tribe or the individual Indian (Sec. 5), and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to proclaim new Indian reservations on the land so acquired or add the land to existing reservations (Sec. 7).<sup>103</sup> All such lands are freed from State and local taxation (Sec. 5). An annual appropriation of \$2,500,000 to make the land purchases was authorized, but limitations were imposed upon the use of the funds for any extension of the Navajo reservation in Arizona and New Mexico (Sec. 5).

The Secretary of the Interior is directed to conserve the natural resources of the Indians by making regulations to require sustained-yield management of their forests, to restrict the grazing of livestock to the carrying capacities of their ranges, and otherwise to prevent deterioration of their lands while assuring full utilization (Sec. 6).

The Act authorizes a revolving fund of \$10,000,000 to enable the Secretary of the Interior to make loans to Indian-chartered corporations to promote the economic development of the tribes (Sec. 10). An additional annual appropriation of \$250,000 is authorized to be loaned to Indians for tuition and expenses in trade and vocational schools (Sec. 11). The Secretary of the Interior is directed by the Act to establish standards for appointment of Indians to positions in the Indian Service without regard to Civil Service laws, and qualified Indians are given preference in the filling of vacancies (Sec. 12).

The right of Indian tribes to organize for their common welfare and to adopt a constitution and by-laws for their own government is recognized. The constitution and the by-laws are revocable by the elective process. All powers vested in the Indian tribes are confirmed by the statute. The constitutions vest in the tribes and their councils the right (a) to employ counsel; (b) to prevent alienation, lease or incumbrance of the tribal lands or assets without consent of the tribe; and (c) to negotiate with Federal, State and local governments. The Secretary of the Interior must advise the tribes of all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit of the tribe, prior to their submission to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress (Sec. 16). This strengthens the machinery of local government.

On petition of one-third of the adult Indians, the Secretary of the Interior may issue the tribe a charter of incorporation which becomes effective when it is ratified by a majority of the adult Indians at an election. The charter may convey to the tribe the power to acquire, own and dispose of real and personal

property along with all other powers that may be incidental to the conduct of the corporate business of the tribe. But the charter grants no authority to sell, mortgage or lease for more than ten years any land within the reservation. The charter so granted is irrevocable except by Act of Congress (Sec. 17).

One unique feature of the statute is that it does not apply to any reservation wherein a majority of the adult Indians, at a special election, vote against its application (Sec. 18). It was under this provision that Jemez voted to be excluded.

Only two pueblos received tangible benefits from the Act—the Santa Clara people wrote a constitution which operated successfully; Acoma purchased land from money appropriated under the Act. Several other villages clarified their administration by writing constitutions which have not yet been submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, and all of the pueblos profited by the clarification of their legal status through this legislation. The villages had self-government prior to 1934 but it existed as a vague undefined code which no one had carefully analyzed and about which the Indians themselves were in doubt. The administration of the Act is discussed by Mekeel.<sup>108</sup>

*B. United Pueblos Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs,  
Department of the Interior*

1. Organization

In 1935, the United Pueblos Agency, which serves the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, established its main office in the Federal Building in Albuquerque. It is composed of what were six discrete agencies prior to 1935, namely—the Northern Agency at Santa Fe, the Southern Agency at Albuquerque, the Zuni Agency, the Albuquerque Sanatorium, the Albuquerque Boarding School, and that part of the Fifth Irrigation District which served the Pueblo Indians. The centralization of 1935 made it possible, for the first time, to coordinate all the work of the Federal government as it operated among the Pueblos. Agents with the powers of an Assistant Superintendent were stationed at Santa Fe and Zuni.

The purpose of the consolidation was to put into effect an over-all program for the Pueblo Indians, and to formulate objectives to be carried out by all the services alike, in contrast to the prior organization in which each service operated independently, and often at variance with some service with which it should have been intimately connected. Under the new organization, Extension and Education were closely connected, so that, for example, the children in the schools were learning the theory of new methods of livestock raising which were being used by their parents.

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<sup>108</sup> Mekeel, 1944.

## 2. Objective

The objective of the Federal program for the Pueblo Indians was identical with that formulated for Indians in general in the Indian Reorganization Act. Translated into specific purposes for the Pueblo people, the objectives of the United Pueblos Agency were (1) to assist the Indians in being self-supporting tribes. To this end the additional land had been purchased, and alienation, allotment or sale of land prohibited. (2) To give the Indian the opportunity for a better education. This was accomplished by giving scholarships for college or technical training for qualified Indian boys and girls. (3) To assist interested Indians or cooperatives in establishing businesses. This was done by setting up a revolving credit fund. (4) To vest a recognized power in the governors and the councils of the tribes so that they could conduct their own business legally as can any other municipality. These, then, were the objectives of that branch of the Indian Service with its headquarters in Albuquerque.

The practical results of carrying out the purposes just outlined have to be made, of necessity, in terms of the Anglo culture. Try as one may to keep the old communal values of the group as a whole, money in the bank or stored in the trunk replaces the security once obtained by community activities under a subsistence economy. The individual or group with the savings becomes, in part, independent of his neighbors. Many of the incentives for group action disappear. Where all the individuals in a group are not equally interested in a situation, or where effort of a technical nature is demanded as in modern commercial undertakings, groups become realigned in patterns different from the traditional. The group, therefore, can no longer be treated as homogeneous. Recognition of the person as primarily an individual rather than primarily a member of the community, which had for long been creeping into Pueblo thinking, was accelerated by the program of the Federal government.

After the consolidation in 1935, the following divisions were created for the whole area: Education, Health, Construction (which included Irrigation, Civilian Conservation Corps of the Indian Bureau, and Roads), Forestry, Range, Law Enforcement, Land Use, Personnel, Fiscal, Garage, Operation and Maintenance, Statistics, Warehouse, Property, Mail, and Files.

## 3. Policy

Matters pertaining to the pueblos are acted upon by the United Pueblos Agency only after the Pueblo Governor and his staff present the matter to the Agency. All complaints of pueblo residents not coming through the Governor are referred back to the Governor and Council. All new plans, whether initiated by the Agency or in Washington, are discussed first with the Governor and Council, and their approval is obtained before the plan is finally adopted. Each

year the governing body of the village compiles a list of the things which it considers essential. The projects on this list are discussed with the officers of the United Pueblos Agency, and the final programs are based (1) on the money available, (2) on the urgency of the work in one pueblo as against that in another, (3) on the importance of the project to the Indians in each village, and (4) on the importance of the project from a technical point of view.

The policy of the Indian Service is to present all the facts of any case to the Indians and then let the Indians themselves decide what action is to be taken. This presentation is an important part of the Superintendent's work. A second and equally important part is the discouraging of any attempt to "sell" the Indians on any matter, or so to emphasize the facts presented as to make a certain decision inevitable. That the Pueblo Indians are well qualified to make their own decisions can be shown by numerous incidents. The following three cases are in point.

It was suggested by the Superintendent that each pueblo appoint a committee of three men to handle matters pertaining to land. Vexing problems constantly arise connected with boundaries, property rights, and the encroachment of non-Indian settlers upon Indian reservations. Besides, there are seventeen different types of legal status under which pueblo lands are held. No Governor during his year of administration has time to master the complications of the land situation, nor is there an adequate staff in the central Federal Agency to explain the land problems to all nineteen Governors each year. Each pueblo, according to the Superintendent's suggestion, was asked to appoint a committee which would spend some time in the Agency office studying the legal aspects of land ownership. These three men would then be responsible for explaining land matters to their people.

In 1939, this idea was presented to the Governor and two Councilmen of Jemez, who said they would consider it. After six weeks of consideration, they returned to the Agency office and reported that they believed the establishment of such an organization would be unwise. Their reason was that such a committee would in all probability become more powerful than the present civil offices, and thus would upset the present organization.

The three-man board, they believed, would, after becoming versed in the field, supersede the Council's authority of advising on matters pertaining to land, and displace the historians of the tribe by their more factual knowledge. When it was pointed out by a Federal employee that these ill effects might be avoided by placing the board administratively under the Governor and Council, the Jemez Indians replied that as a practical matter the board would probably not channel its recommendations and advice through the recognized pueblo authorities when the board had such an intimate contact with the Federal Agency. That the Indian's reasoning contained a large element of truth can be seen from the next illustration.

A stockmen's association had been formed at Taos in the early part of the thirties. The Taos Indians had acquired from the government some excellent livestock on the understanding that every owner would return a yearling heifer to the government as payment for each animal received. The representatives of the government insisted that the owners of cattle form an association for the unified buying of feed and branding irons, and for registering all offspring. The association soon became strong enough to compete with the town officers as a civil organization. A group of Taos Indians came to the United Pueblos Agency asking that the original agreement be modified and the cattle association abolished, each owner being required to care for his cattle individually. Their suggestion was opposed by the Extension Division since it meant, in all probability, failure to register the animals and thus result in a reduction in their value. However, a broader consideration was involved. The whole pueblo was upset by the divided authority, while the people took sides and seemed in a fair way to split into irreconcilable units. A study of the situation resulted in the decision on the part of the United Pueblos Agency to abolish the association. Although its abolition meant a loss of money to individuals, because not all have kept up the registration of their animals, yet its wisdom is shown by the fact that the village is now functioning effectively without the presence of a full-time Federal officer to maintain law and order, which had become necessary as a result of loss of authority by the civil government.

An incident similar to the one at Taos occurred in Isleta between 1913 and 1923.<sup>104</sup> In 1913, a *Court of Indian Offenses* was created for Isleta, which had jurisdiction over all cases not tried in the Federal Court.<sup>105</sup> Pablo Abeita was the Judge. Prior to this time, and according to the established custom, the Governor had always acted as Judge; hence many of the Governors and their followers attempted to have the new office abolished. The Superintendents of the Agency upheld the actions of this court. In June, 1921, representatives from Isleta, Sandia, Cochiti, and Santo Domingo traveled to Washington and, among other complaints, Governor José Padilla of Isleta said, "These past years we have been having a great deal of trouble with judges. We are divided into two factions. We are now having quarrels. For this reason the pueblo does not want any judge, because that accounts for the trouble . . . the judge has more power and authority than the Governor. When any discussion comes they try the Governor. . . ." <sup>106</sup>

The judgeship was abolished two years later. Although its abolition did not unite Isleta, since from all available records this group has a history of more

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<sup>104</sup> Pablo Abeita's history of Isleta. United Pueblos Agency file.

<sup>105</sup> Crane, 1929, p. 58.

<sup>106</sup> Record of a meeting found in the Archive Room of the United Pueblos Agency.

political disturbances than any other New Mexico Indian pueblo, it did sensibly reduce the number and seriousness of quarrels within the village.

These examples show not only the ability of the Indians to make decisions which preserve their present governments, but also their initiative in resisting changes detrimental to their present organizations. The Pueblo people do not passively accept what the Federal government suggests. Acceptance or rejection depends first on the value of the idea to the pueblo concerned and, secondly, on the amount of confidence a pueblo has in the integrity of the particular Federal officer with whom it is dealing.

## V. DISCUSSION

**I**N prehistoric times the civil organization of the Pueblo Indians was probably represented by a small branch of the religious hierarchy, which was composed of the War Chief and his associates. Their main responsibility was appeasing the gods of rain and sun for the benefit of their crops, and the maintenance of a strong military division.

Religion, with decreasing intensity, has continued to be important in influencing the civil functions within the tribe. The Indians have completely divorced their civil functions from religion in their dealings with non-Indians, in order to prevent their sacred ceremonies from being known or discussed by those with whom they have business dealings. This effective separation of Church and State in civil matters makes it possible to understand the utilitarian part of the organization of the Pueblos without delving into esoteric matters. Therefore, religion has not been considered in this account except in connection with the selection of civil officials by the high priests.

*The theoretical organization as it exists in men's minds may be at complete variance with the actual operation of the unit. In other words, there may be a difference in the explanation given of the pattern by a member of the tribe, and the performance of the work as it is executed by a fellow member. These variations are not discussed here. Temporary variations or eccentricities noted in the performance of official duties which appeared to be due to an individual's own peculiar temperament were not considered part of the usual pattern and hence were omitted.*

Development has not progressed at the same rate in all of the villages. In some, the Spanish-Indian pattern of civil organization exists today substantially as it existed two or more centuries ago. Other villages show many changes from the ancient pattern. It is by a study of these variations between villages that the forces operating upon the civil organization of the villages can be deduced.

The prehistoric economy was one of subsistence with security implicit in a system of social obligations. Resources could be renewed by moving to new sites when the soil about the villages had become depleted, and the civil organization was probably very simple.

After the Spanish settlement the need for an administration to facilitate the dealings between Spanish and Indians was answered by the colonial policy of establishing within Indian villages the organization of the Spanish colonial town. It was a pattern well designed to handle the Spanish business with the Indians, but it was not particularly adapted to the Indian culture itself.

The Indians, however, modified the Spanish pattern of civil administration by adding to it the aboriginal office of War Chief and by substituting, in place



of yearly elections, their native custom of choosing officials. Both of these modifications, made before the nineteenth century, served to integrate the functions of the civil authorities with the religious group.

For many generations after the Spanish had settled in the Southwest, the subsistence economy of the Indians persisted. Local traders established stores in or near the reservations and these merchants accepted all the Indian produce in exchange for merchandise. This system of credit, employed before cash was paid for their produce, unquestionably retarded the Indians' economic development. There was no way within the system of credit they used to evaluate the amount or kind of produce they raised with that raised by more modern methods. They were unaware of the low productiveness of their acres, hence there was no incentive to use fertilizer nor to distribute irrigation water in such a way as to raise more crops. Cattle being sold by the head instead of weight, with the same price for all, gave no stimulation for raising better animals, and so on throughout the whole range of their activities. Because of this backward economy, nothing new was demanded of the civil organization; the old Spanish and Indian pattern, except for the military part of the government, persisted.

Towards the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the military arm of the Pueblo organization used in protecting the pueblos from marauding invaders was no longer needed, but the strength and integrity of the remaining part of their government persisted as the Indians' struggles to maintain their possessions moved from open warfare to legal and legislative battles. The years of contention, in which the Indian saw time and time again his land about to slip away from him, explain, in part, his passionate regard for his soil. It may also explain his secretiveness in dealing with strangers. The story of the innumerable trips to Washington financed and made by Pueblo leaders, lawyers hired from Pueblo funds, legislative committees before whom Pueblos testified in defense of their rights exists, for the most part, only in the memory of the men of the tribe. But the record does show that the Pueblo organization was at least partially successful in keeping their resources intact against tremendous pressure. Compare the outcome of the Pueblos' land struggle with that of their neighbors, the Spanish-Americans. The Spanish-American villages do not have a strong civil organization of their own, although certain Spanish patterns persist tenaciously. From 1900 to 1939 the Spanish-Americans had lost 70 percent of the land which they had owned as private or community grants, whereas during the same period the total amount of land the Indians used or owned has increased.<sup>107</sup>

The Federal Government has the responsibility of protecting Indian rights

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<sup>107</sup> Both of these groups have lost an unestimated amount of land which they used for generations but to which they had no title.

just as the State had the responsibility of protecting the rights of its Spanish citizens, but the Federal Government would have been ineffective without the keen interest and sustained support of the organized Indians.

The struggles over land strengthened the Pueblo civil organization in its dealings with non-Indians and brought an internal cohesion to the group, while the success of the governing body throughout the years in keeping their resources added immeasurably to its prestige. Having land to distribute gave additional strength to their government. Throughout the centuries of the Indians' struggle for land, there was probably a tacit recognition of the importance of land to the integrity of the governing body.

The achievement of keeping the Pueblo Indians' lands relatively intact could never have been accomplished had titles been more readily transferable, *as were the non-Indian titles, or had appeals from the decision of the Pueblo authorities been taken to the State or Federal Courts.* Even though an Indian appealed for help outside the village, it would have been impossible for an outsider to have handled the case intelligently without the help of the Governor and Council, since no land ownership is recorded. Therefore, the power which accrued from the ability to give or take away the livelihood of any member of the tribe remained in the hands of the Indian governing group. Just so long as there was plenty of land, control by the old order with its religious domination was absolute.

As the village increased in population, land became insufficient for everyone; without land, the prerequisite of authority, the power of the old religious order diminished. *At the same time, a new order springing from a scientific philosophy regarding resources was developing.* Although the idea of a more efficient use of land and better husbandry had been gradually gaining favor, the crisis caused by the drought of 1935 precipitated action. The moment was more decisive for Laguna and Acoma than for any of the other pueblos. In these two villages the range was badly overgrazed, the animals starving, and the amount of farming land insufficient to raise the necessary food for their families and animals. If they were to remain at home, the only alternative was better farm and range management.

Again the organization saved the situation. Once the Governor and Council understood the necessary steps to take, they acted. They had realized for some time that their range was gutted with erosion. From the window of the room where the Laguna Council met, the Governor pointed to a hill of yellow sand which he could remember as once being covered with grass. That was only one of many denuded areas on their reservation. They all knew, also, that the most nutritious plants had disappeared from the range, leaving less digestible weeds or even poisonous plants. Fortunately, there was money for wages while the adjustment was taking place. Within a year, scientific range control was being

practiced in both Acoma and Laguna, and within six years the range had become stabilized, animals were heavier, and the Indians ran some of the best livestock in the state.

As stockraising was put on a scientific basis, the complexities of the business, as well as the new responsibilities imposed by better business methods, necessitated the formation of strong sheep and cattle associations. These associations took over civil duties once the responsibility of the War Chief. In most of those villages with livestock associations, the War Chief has only religious duties.<sup>108</sup>

Among non-Indians there are "wool growers" associations as well as cattle associations throughout the cattle country, but the organizations in the Pueblos resemble more closely the English guilds of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, since the Pueblo associations, like the guilds, are closely associated with town government.<sup>109</sup>

Cash, during the thirties and forties, was obtained through wages and by the sale of animals and farm products. Cash in hand and the spending of Compensation money has taught the Indian the value of the dollar. In those villages where contact with the outside made the handling of money necessary, the offices of Secretary and Treasurer have been added to the civil government. Official Chauffeur was introduced as a result of the possession of adequate funds to buy a community car. Cash supplied the security once found in social obligations, and it has demanded a more centralized organization with an emphasis on mercantile transactions rather than on tribal rituals to keep together people no longer dependent on each other for the necessities of life.

The shift in power, in those pueblos most influenced by the Anglo economy, is from the religious group who controlled the Governor, War Chief and Fiscal, to the office of a Governor chosen by popular election. The Governors chosen by the people are usually young, speak English, and are able to transact the business of the pueblo effectively. They are usually very busy people, especially in the larger villages, and frequently have to neglect their own affairs to attend to the official duties of the tribe. Since the office is without compensation, the acceptance of the post implies a high degree of social consciousness and, at the same time, the lack of remuneration often prohibits a Governor from holding office more than two or three years in succession.

Most of the pueblos which have changed or are changing from the old to the more modern pattern of civil organization are functioning relatively well, except Zuni. Zuni in 1943 not only had an amorphous civil organization, but those in authority were making no satisfactory adjustment to changing economic values. This stasis within the tribe was due in large part to a lack of

<sup>108</sup> In Nambe, the War Chief has only religious duties and there is no association of cattlemen because only a few people run cattle, making an association unnecessary.

<sup>109</sup> Terry, 1902.

experience of the people in handling their own government, due to strong paternalistic Federal control of the civil affairs of the group up until 1935.

However, the manner in which the more modern Pueblos have adapted their civil forms to changing conditions, the ability of all of the Pueblos to adopt laws which they consider important, their ability to resist changes which they do not believe to be for the good of the tribe, their ability to handle judicial, legislative and executive functions—all these lead to the conclusion that the civil organizations of the Pueblos are not only units adapted to their own life and culture, but that throughout they have maintained their vitality.

This new alignment of authority and the officers introduced within the present century—i.e., Secretary-Treasurer, Cattle Officer, Sheep Officer and Official Chauffeur—are the result of economic forces operating to change the old civil pattern into one more closely integrated with the Anglo culture. Insofar as the Federal Government limits its authority to handling Indian problems which lie outside of the local tribal authority, and refrains itself from entering into decisions which should be under the jurisdiction of Pueblo officials, just so long will the Pueblo organizations continue to function effectively.

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TABLE I (A)

## PUEBLO OF ACOMA

Land Location: Central New Mexico—Valencia County  
Townships, 7, 8, and 9 North, Ranges 7 and 8 West

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Lands:</i>			
Pueblo Grant <sup>120</sup>	94,158.87	9/20/1689 12/22/1858 11/19/1876	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374) Patented
Santa Ana Grant	208.67	4/11/1933	Portion used by unwritten mutual agreement with Laguna Pueblo. (See Laguna Pueblo for date of acquisition.)
5 sections in Cibola National Forest	3,195.76	12/31/1939	Acquired by deed from Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway in exchange for land within Pueblo granted for a railroad right of way.
Indian Homesteads in Acoma Purchase Area	480.00		
Reservation <sup>121</sup>	53,800.98	5/23/1928 3/21/1917	45 Stat. 717 Executive Order
<i>Total Indian Lands</i>	153,844.28		
<i>Government Lands:</i> <sup>122</sup>			
(Lands within Government Purchase Areas administered by Indian Service):			
Resettlement purchased lands in Acoma Purchase Area	54,268.30	1/18/1938	Executive Order No. 7792
Public Domain in Acoma Purchase Area (Indian Service administration)	33,721.03	12/31/1938	Secretarial Order
Rehabilitation purchase within exterior boundaries of Acoma Purchase Area	208.00	1/ 2/1942	Indian Office letter of 7/18/1941
<i>Total Government Land</i>	88,197.33		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
State Lease—In Reservation	1,920.00	1938	
In Acoma Purchase Area	11,321.84	1938	
<i>Total Leased Land</i>	13,241.84		

*Grand Total Acreage Lands Used by Acoma Pueblo—255,283.45*

<sup>120</sup> Acreage of original Grant by official survey (94,169 acres) less 10.13 acres Government School site.

<sup>121</sup> Not Indian area of both Congressional Act and Executive Order Reservations. Note: When the Acoma Reservation was created by Act of May 23, 1928, within the area described by the act there were 27,726.69 acres of privately owned land. On Nov. 9, 1931, a non-Indian deeded to Acoma Pueblo 480 acres of this land, and the balance (27,246.69) was acquired with funds appropriated under Section 5 of the Indian Reorganization Act of 6/18/1934. These acquisitions within the reservation are included in the acreage figure in the above tabulations.

<sup>122</sup> "Government land" means areas owned by the United States and administered by the Indian Service as distinguished from other Federal land used by Indians and administered by other Federal agencies.



TABLE I (B)

## PUEBLO OF COCHITI

Land Location: North central New Mexico—Sandoval County  
Townships 16 and 17 North, Range 6 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>113</sup>	22,763.31	9/25/1689 12/22/1858 11/1/1864	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374) Patented
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i> State Lease	640.00	1938	
Public Domain—(Graz- ing Service Permit)	3,088.30	1938	
<i>Total Leased Land</i>	3,728.30		

<sup>113</sup> Area of Grant by official survey (23,218.22) less 451.61 acres non-Indian Private Claims and 3.30 acres School Site (Govt. Land). (This does not include 149.88 acres in conflict with Santo Domingo Grant.) Compensation Purchases of 204.49 acres are included in the net Indian area of Pueblo Grant. For explanation of "compensation" money, see (A) Complications over Land Titles.

TABLE I (C)

## PUEBLO OF ISLETA

Land Location: Central New Mexico, Bernalillo and Valencia Counties

Townships 7 and 8 North, Ranges 1 and 5 East, 1 and 2 West

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i>			
Pueblo Grant <sup>124</sup>	109,362.01	— 12/22/1858	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374)
Isleta Tract <sup>125</sup>	21,090.38	11/ 1/1864 10/ 7/33	Patented Patented after Pueblo Lands Board report of 8/17/28 recognized that this tract had been omitted by mistake in original survey
Lo de Padilla Grant <sup>126</sup>	37,221.02	11/28/1896 4/ 9/1908	Confirmed by Congress Patented
Gutierrez & Sedillo Grant <sup>127</sup>	19,886.59	6/ 2/1897 11/15/1909	Confirmed by Congress Patented
Compensation Purchases <sup>128</sup> outside Pueblo Grant	266.39	1936-38	Pueblo Lands Act (43 Stat. 636), June 7, 1924. (Separate Indian Office authori- zation for each transaction.)
<i>Total Indian Lands</i>	187,826.39		
<i>Government Lands:</i>			
(Lands within Government Purchase Areas administered by Indian Service)			
Purchased by Resettlement Adminis- tration—Isleta Purchase Area	17,492.71	1/18/1938	Executive Order 7792
<i>Total Government Land</i>	17,492.71		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
State Lease, lying within Isleta Pur- chase Area	1,256.72	1938	
Public Domain (Grazing Service Per- mit), without Isleta Purchase Area	1,668.85	1938	
Within Isleta Purchase Area	2,061.40	1938	
<i>Total Leased Land</i>	4,986.97		
<i>Grand Total Acreage Lands Used by Isleta Pueblo</i>	210,306.07		

<sup>124</sup> Acreage of Grant by official survey (109,464.49) less 89.75 acres non-Indian Private Claims and 12.73 acres school site (Govt. land).

<sup>125</sup> Isleta Tract—Official survey acreage (21,414.99) less 324.61 acres non-Indian Private Claims.

<sup>126</sup> Official Survey acreage (51,940.82) less 14,719.80 acres non-Indian Private Claims.

<sup>127</sup> Official Survey acreage (19,946.44) less 59.85 acres non-Indian Private Claims.

<sup>128</sup> Compensation Purchases within the Grants totaling 842.37 acres are included in net area of Grant.

TABLE I (D)

## PUEBLO OF JEMEZ

Land Location: North central New Mexico—Sandoval County  
Township 16 North, Ranges 1 and 2 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i>			
Pueblo Grant <sup>119</sup>	17,313.85	9/20/1689	Original Grant from King of Spain
		12/22/1858	Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374)
		11/ 1/1864	Patented
Reservation	14,933.65	12/19/1906	Executive Order
		9/ 1/1911	Executive Order
	897.77	10/ 4/1915	Executive Order
Compensation Purchases <sup>120</sup>			
Canada de Cochiti Grant	9,647.94	10/10/1942	Pueblo Lands Act (43 Stat. 636). June 7, 1924 (Not on map)
<i>Total Indian Lands</i>	42,793.21		
<i>Government Lands:</i>			
San Ysidro Grant <sup>121</sup>	1,092.05	1/18/1938	Executive Order 7792 (South of Grant)
Rehabilitation purchase for site of diversion dam	4.65	12/10/1941	Indian Office letter 9/17/1941
<i>Total Government Land</i>	1,096.70		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
Espiritu Santo Grant	34,553.00		Permit from Soil Conservation Service. (Not on map)
State Lease	1,224.98	1938	
Public Domain—Grazing Service Permit	4,590.00	1938	
<i>Total Leased Land</i>	40,367.98		

<sup>119</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey (17,331) less 15.09 acres non-Indian private claims and 2.06 acres school site (Gov't. land).

<sup>120</sup> Compensation Purchases totaling 4.09 acres within the Pueblo Grant have been included in the net Indian acreage figure above.

<sup>121</sup> The San Ysidro Grant is a part of the Zia-Santa Ana Purchase Area.

TABLE I (E)

## PUEBLO OF LAGUNA

Land Location: Central New Mexico—Valencia County

Townships 8, 9, 10 and 11 North, Ranges 3-7 West

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i>			
Pueblo Grant <sup>122</sup>	17,403.04	9/25/1689	Original Grant from King of Spain
		4/20/1898	Confirmed by Court of Private Land Claims
		11/15/1909	Patented
Paguate Purchase <sup>123</sup>	56,626.85	6/21/1860	Confirmed by Congress
		9/22/1884	Patented
El Rito, San Juan & Gi- gante Purchases	25,397.10	6/21/1860	Confirmed by Congress
		9/22/1884	Patented
Santa Ana Grant <sup>124</sup>	542.89	6/21/1860	Confirmed by Congress
		9/22/1884	Patented to Acoma Pueblo
Reservation	29,815.09 <sup>125</sup>	7/ 1/1910	Executive Order
	111,865.72	3/21/1917	Executive Order
Compensation Purchases:			
Cruz Baca land in T. 11 N., R. 6 W. (No. 2)	949.86	7/31/39	Pueblo Lands Act (43 Stat. 636), June 7, 1924 (Separate Indian Office authorization for each transaction.)
In Canoncito Area	2,132.64	1940-42	(See map of United Pueblos Agency juris- diction.)
Sub-Total	244,733.19		

<sup>122</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—17,456.39 less 53.35 acres school site (Gov't. land).

<sup>123</sup> Gross acreage by official survey—65,267.78—less basic private claims (13,334.29); plus private claims acquired with Compensation Funds—Cruz Baca Tract and Cebolleta Grant—4,693.36 acres. On Dec. 9, 1936, the Cruz Baca Tract (No. 1) of 2,519.03 acres, and on April 16, 1937, from Cebolleta Grant Trustees—2,174.33 acres, were bought.

<sup>124</sup> Santa Ana Grant contains 751.56 acres. By mutual unwritten agreement Acoma Pueblo has use rights on 208.67 acres, leaving 542.89 acres for Laguna.

<sup>125</sup> Gross acreage of the two reservations is 145,194.49 and includes 3,513.68 acres private claims. Net acreage figure includes 640.00 acres Indian Homesteads and 1,781.19 acres Indian allotments.

TABLE I (E) (continued)

## PUEBLO OF LAGUNA

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land: (continued)</i>			
Sub-total brought forward	244,733.19		
Indian Homesteads:			
In Acoma Purchase Area	273.85		(Not shown on map)
Indian Allotments:			
In Acoma Purchase Area	2,956.55		
In Canoncito Area	1,432.39		(Not shown on map)
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	249,395.98		
<i>Government Land:</i>			
(Lands within Purchase Areas administered by Indian Service):			For location of these lands see map of United Pueblos Agency jurisdiction.
Montano Grant, purchased by Resettlement Administration	44,070.66	1/18/1938	Indian Service administration by: Executive Order 7792
Antonio Sedillo Grant, purchased by money made available by Bankhead-Jones Act	86,249.09	2/28/1941	Executive Order 8696
Acoma Purchase Area, purchased by Resettlement Administration	19,395.60	1/18/1938	Executive Order 7792
Public Domain	10,607.37	12/23/1938	Secretarial Order
Canoncito Area, purchased by Resettlement Administration	6,949.79	1/18/1938	Executive Order 7792
Public Domain	2,813.30	5/31/1939	Secretarial Order
<i>Total Government Land</i>	170,085.81		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
State Leases	1,720.24	1940-41	(Not shown on map)
<i>Total Leases</i>	1,720.24		

TABLE I (F)

PUEBLO OF NAMBE

Land Location: Northern New Mexico—Santa Fe County  
Townships 19 and 20 North, Ranges 9 and 10 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> <i>Pueblo Grant</i> <sup>128</sup>	12,559.85	—	Original Grant from King of Spain
		12/22/1858	Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374)
Reservation	6,228.44	11/ 1/1864 9/ 4/1902	Patented Executive Order
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	18,788.29		
<i>Land Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
Permit	1,200		Permit from U. S. Forest Service for 30 head for period May 1 to Oct. 1. (Acreage computed on basis of 80 acres per ani- mal permitted.)
<i>Total Permitted Land</i>	1,200		

<sup>128</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—13,711.67—less 1,148.50 acres non-Indian Private Claims and 2.32 acres school site (Gov't. land).

Note: Compensation Purchases totaling 95.23 acres acquired between 1932 and 1940 are within Pueblo Grant and are included in net Indian area of Grant.

TABLE I (G)

## PUEBLO OF PICURIS

Land Location: Northern New Mexico—Taos County

Townships 22 and 23 North, Ranges 11 and 12-East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>127</sup>	14,959.08	9/25/1689 12/22/1858 11/ 1/1864	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374) Patented
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	14,959.08		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i> Carson National Forest	400.00		Permit for 5 months period from U. S. Forest Service for 12 horses. (Acreage calculated at 80 acres per animal.)
<i>Total Lands Permitted</i>	400.00		
<i>Grand Total Acreage Lands Used by Picuris Pueblo—15,359.08</i>			

TABLE I (H)

## PUEBLO OF POJOAQUE

Land Location: Northern New Mexico—Santa Fe County

Townships 19 and 20 North, Ranges 8 and 9 East

Status as of Dec. 1, 1943

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>128</sup>	11,592.92	— 12/22/1858 11/ 1/1864	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374) Patented
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	11,592.92		

<sup>127</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—17,468.15—less 2,507.30 acres non-Indian private claims and 1.77 acres school site (Gov't. land). Included in the net Indian acreage of the Grant are 102.93 acres of land purchased with Compensation Funds.

<sup>128</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—13,438.15 less 1,845.23 acres non-Indian Private Claims. Included in net Indian area of Grant are 30.70 acres of land purchased from 1937 to 1940 with Compensation Funds. Pueblo Grant is the only land used by Pojoaque Indians.

TABLE I (I)

## PUEBLO OF SANDIA

Land Location: Central New Mexico—Sandoval and Bernalillo Counties  
Townships 11 and 12 North, Ranges 3 and 4 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>129</sup>	22,883.82	4/ 5/1748 12/22/1858 11/ 1/1864	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374) Patented

TABLE I (J)

## PUEBLO OF SAN FELIPE

Land Location: West central New Mexico—Sandoval County  
Townships 13, 14 and 15 North, Ranges 4 and 5 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>129</sup>	30,285.20	9/20/1689 12/22/1858 11/ 1/1864	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374) Patented
Santo Domingo-San Felipe Joint Grant <sup>130</sup>	396.09	9/10/1770 12/ 8/1898 5/ 5/1905	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Court of Private Land Claims Patented
Compensation Purchases <sup>131</sup> —Santa Rosa de Cubero Grant (portion outside Pueblo Grant)	547.29	1937	Pueblo Lands Act (43 Stat. 636), June 7, 1924
Reservation	11,972.90	6,13/1902	Executive Order
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	43,201.48		
<i>Government Lands Used:</i> Rehabilitation Purchases	169.04	1941-42	Indian Office letter 12/11/1940
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i> Public Domain	7,841.20	1938	Permit from Grazing Service

<sup>129</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—24,034.42—less 1,149.97 acres non-Indian private claims and 0.63 acres school site (Gov't. land). Pueblo Grant is the only land used by Sandia Indians.

<sup>130</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—32,697.36—less 2,406.06 acres non-Indian private claims and 6.10 acres school site (Gov't. land). Acreage for Pueblo Grant excludes 58.09 acres in conflict with Santo Domingo-San Felipe Joint Grant; includes 698.10 acres in conflict with El Ranchito Grant.

<sup>131</sup> Official survey acreage is 1,053.94 and includes 58.09 acres in conflict with San Felipe Pueblo Grant and 639.85 acres in conflict with Santo Domingo Pueblo Grant. Santo Domingo Pueblo uses 659.85 acres of the Joint Grant.

<sup>132</sup> Included in the net Indian area of the Pueblo Grant are 1,777.59 acres of land purchased from 1932 to 1939 with Compensation Funds.



TABLE I (K)

## PUEBLO OF SAN ILDEFONSO

Land Location: Northern New Mexico—Santa Fe County  
Townships 19 and 20 North, Ranges 7 and 8 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>123</sup>	15,413.40	— 12/22/1858	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374)
Reservation	4,430.72	11/ 1/1864 2/11/1929	Patented Act of Congress (45 Stat. 1161)
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	19,844.12		
<i>Government Lands Used:</i> Sacred Area of Ramon Vigil Grant	5,913.66	9/18/1939	Executive Order No. 8255
<i>Total Government Land</i>	5,913.66		

TABLE I (L)

## PUEBLO OF SAN JUAN

Land Location: Northern New Mexico—Rio Arriba County  
Township 21 North, Range 8 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>124</sup>	12,212.96	9/23/1689 12/22/1858 11/ 1/1864	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374) Patented
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	12,212.96		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i> Part of Sebastian Martin Grant	8,371.00		Permit from Soil Conservation Service. (Not shown on map.)

<sup>123</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—16,199.61—less 784.91 acres non-Indian private claims and 1.30 acres school site (Gov't. land). Included in net Indian area of Pueblo Grant are 325.545 acres of land purchased from 1936 to 1941 with Compensation Funds.

<sup>124</sup> Gross acreage of Pueblo Grant by official survey—16,174.15—less 3,959.10 acres non-Indian private claims and 2.09 acres school site (Gov't. land). Included in net Indian area of Grant are 67.93 acres of lands, acquired between 1936 and 1941, with Compensation Funds.

TABLE I (M)

## PUEBLO OF SANTA ANA

Land Location: West central New Mexico—Sandoval County  
Townships 13 and 14 North, Ranges 3 and 4 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i>			
Pueblo Grant	15,405.63	—	Original Grant from King of Spain
		2/ 9/1869	Confirmed by Congress (15 Stat. 88)
		4/25/1883	Patented
Tract in Bernalillo Grant	29.69		(Not shown on map.)
El Ranchito Grant <sup>125</sup>	3,375.16	5/31/1897	Confirmed by Court of Private Land Claims
		10/18/1909	Patented. (Does not include 598.10 acres in conflict with San Felipe Grant. See map San Felipe.)
Compensation Purchases			
Taylor Ranch	325.37	1939	Pueblo Lands Act (43 Stat. 636) June 7, 1924. (See Indian Office authorization for transaction.)
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	19,135.85		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
State Lease	2,503.72	1938	Lease from State Land Office
Public Domain	23,033.30	1938	Permit from Grazing Service
<i>Total Leased Land</i>	25,537.02		
<i>Grand Total Acreage Used by Santa Ana Pueblo—44,672.87</i>			

<sup>125</sup> El Ranchito Grant acreage by official survey is 3,485.01. (This includes 107.04 acres non-Indian private claims and government school site of 2.81 acres.) Included in the net Indian area of El Ranchito Grant are 6.35 acres acquired in 1939 with Compensation Funds.

TABLE I (N)

## PUEBLO OF SANTA CLARA

Land Location: Northern New Mexico—Santa Fe and Rio Arriba Counties  
Townships 20 and 21 North, Ranges 5-8 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>126</sup>	12,224.30	— 12/22/1858	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress, (11 Stat. 374)
Pueblo of Santa Clara Grant (commonly known as "Shoe String Grant")	473.18	11/ 1/1864 7/19/1763 9/29/1894	Patented Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Court of Private Land Claims
Reservation	33,044.30	11/15/1909 7/29/1905	Patented Executive Order
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	45,741.78		

TABLE I (O)

## PUEBLO OF SANTO DOMINGO

Land Location: West central New Mexico—Sandoval County  
Townships 15 and 16 North, Ranges 4, 5 and 6 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>127</sup>	65,571.47	9/20/1689 12/22/1858	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374)
Santo Domingo-San Felipe Joint Grant <sup>128</sup>	659.85	11/ 1/1864 9/10/1770 12/ 8/1898 5/ 5/1905	Patented Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Court of Private Land Claims Patented
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	66,231.32		

<sup>126</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey (16,308.01) less 4,079.71 acres non-Indian private claims and 4.00 acres school site (Gov't. land). Included in net Indian area of Grant are 232.10 acres acquired from 1937 to 1941 with Compensation Funds.

<sup>127</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—66,081.08—less 505.16 acres non-Indian private claims and 4.45 acres school site (Gov't. Land). Acreage of Pueblo Grant includes 149.88 acres in conflict with Cochiti Pueblo Grant.

<sup>128</sup> Joint Grant—official survey acreage is 1,055.94 and includes 58.09 acres in conflict with San Felipe Grant and 659.85 acres in conflict with Santo Domingo Pueblo Grant. San Felipe uses 396.09 acres of this Grant. Note: Included in net Indian area of Pueblo Grant are 132.76 acres acquired from 1933 to 1937 with Compensation Funds.

TABLE I (P)

## PUEBLO OF TAOS

Land Location: Northern New Mexico—Taos County  
Townships 25 and 26 North, Ranges 13 and 14 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>120</sup>	15,400.50	— 12/22/1858	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374)
Tenorio Tract	5,695.92	11/ 1/1864 4/13/1818	Patented Patented. Pueblo Lands Board recognized the deed of 1818
Compensation purchases: <sup>140</sup> Martinez Tract	26,237.58	1940	Pueblo Lands Act (43 Stat. 636), June 7, 1924.
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	47,334.00		
<i>Lands Used by Permit:</i> Carson National Forest permitted area	30,000.00	10/24/40	Irrevocable permit for 50 years pursuant to Act of 3/31/1933 (48 Stat. 108)
<i>Total Lands Used by Permit</i>	30,000.00		
<i>Grand Total Acreage Used by Taos Indians—77,334</i>			

TABLE I (Q)

## PUEBLO OF TESUQUE

Land Location: North central New Mexico—Santa Fe County  
Townships 18 and 19 North, Range 9 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i> Pueblo Grant <sup>141</sup>	16,706.36	— 12/22/1858	Original Grant from King of Spain Confirmed by Congress (11 Stat. 374)
Compensation Purchases: Aspen Ranch	318.05	11/ 1/1864 6/10/1937	Patented Pueblo Lands Act (43 Stat. 636), June 7, 1924. (Indian Office authority for use of Compensation Funds appropriated by Congress by Act of 12/22/1927.)
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	17,024.41		

<sup>120</sup> Gross acreage of Pueblo Grant by official survey (17,390.13) less 1,981.38 acres non-Indian private claims and 8.25 acres school site (Gov't. land).

<sup>140</sup> Included in net Indian land in Pueblo Grant is a tract of land known as the Karavas Tract (773.78 acres) acquired in 1942 with Compensation Funds.

<sup>141</sup> Gross acreage of Pueblo Grant by official survey—16,960.37—less 251.51 acres non-Indian private claims and 2.50 acres school site (Gov't. land).

TABLE I (R)

## PUEBLO OF ZIA

Land Location: West central New Mexico—Sandoval County  
Townships 14 and 15 North, Range 2 East

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i>			
Pueblo Grant <sup>1a</sup>	16,281.67	9/20/1689	Original Grant from King of Spain
		12/22/1858	Confirmed by Congress, (11 Stat. 374)
		11/ 1/1864	Patented
Reservation	386.85	4/12/1924	Act of Congress (43 Stat. 92)
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	16,668.52		
<i>Government Lands Used:</i>			See map of United Pueblos Agency jurisdiction
Resettlement Purchased Land: Zia-Santa Ana Purchase Area	20,431.43	1/18/1938	To Indian Service Administration by: Executive Order 7792
San Ysidro Grant	4,074.18	1/18/1938	Executive Order 7792
Borrogo Grant	16,079.80	1/18/1938	Executive Order 7792
<i>Total Government Land</i>	40,585.41		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
Espiritu Santo Grant	39,862.00		Permit from Soil Conservation Service
State land	2,243.98	1938	Lease from State Land Office
Public Domain	15,701.26	1938	Permit from Grazing Service
<i>Total Leased Land</i>	57,807.24		

<sup>1a</sup> Gross acreage of Grant by official survey—16,282.28—less 0.61 acres school site (Gov't land).

TABLE I (S)

## PUEBLO OF ZUNI

Land Location: Western New Mexico—McKinley County

Townships 8, 9 and 10 North, Ranges 17, 18, 19 and 20 West

STATUS	ACREAGE	DATE ACQUIRED	AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION
<i>Indian Land:</i>			
Pueblo Grant	17,635.80	9/25/1689	Original Grant from King of Spain
		3/ 3/1931	Confirmed by Congress (46 Stat. 1509)
Reservation <sup>148</sup>	324,410.86	2/15/1933	Patented
		6/20/1935	Act of Congress (49 Stat. 393)
	342,046.66		
		3/16/1877	Executive Order
		5/ 1/1883	Executive Order
		11/30/1917	Executive Order
Less School and Administrative Sites <sup>149</sup>	224.00		
	341,822.66		
Indian homesteads acquired under Homestead Act	160.00		
Indian Allotments in Zuni Purchase Area	1,760.00		
<i>Total Indian Land</i>	343,742.66		
<i>Government Land:</i>			
(Land within Government purchase Areas administered by Indian Service) <sup>148</sup>			
In Zuni Purchase Area:			
Resettlement Land	44,417.00	9/16/1938	Executive Order 7975
Public Domain	22,769.00	5/31/1939	Secretarial Order
<i>Total Government Land</i>	67,186.00		
<i>Lands Used by Lease or Permit:</i>			
State Lands, USIS lease	4,054.00	1938-39	Lease from New Mexico State Land Office
<i>Total Leases</i>	4,054.00		

*Gross Acreage Used by Zuni Indians—414,982.66*<sup>148</sup> Gross area of Reservation—325,493.67 acres—less 1,721.49 acres basic private claims plus 638.68 acres of these claims acquired with Indian Reorganization Act funds.<sup>149</sup> 144 acres Agency farm; 80 acres school and administrative sites.<sup>150</sup> Acreage of Zuni Purchase Area used by Zuni Indians is an estimate; exact figure will be obtained when area of non-Indian use is definitely adjudicated.

TABLE II  
LAND OWNED AND USED BY THE PUEBLO INDIANS AS OF 1944  
(Summary of Tables I and XIII)

PUEBLO	INDIAN LANDS <sup>146</sup>	LANDS AD- MINISTERED	LANDS ON	TOTAL	
		BY THE UNITED PUEBLOS AGENCY <sup>147</sup>	WHICH THE INDIANS HAVE LEASES OR PERMITS <sup>148</sup>	LANDS OWNED OR USED BY EACH PUEBLO	
(Land is given in acres)					
	<i>Grazing</i>	<i>Agricul- tural<sup>149</sup></i>	<i>Grazing</i>	<i>Grazing</i>	<i>Grazing and Agricultural</i>
Acoma	152,453	1,391	88,197	13,242	255,283
Cochiti	22,133	630	—	3,728	26,491
Isleta	184,361	3,465	17,493	4,987	210,306
Jemez	41,448	1,345	1,097	40,368	84,258
Laguna	247,808	1,588	170,086	1,720	421,202
Nambe	18,500	288	—	1,200	19,988
Picuris	14,783	176	—	400	15,359
Pojoaque	11,558	35	—	—	11,593
Sandia	21,006	1,878	—	—	22,884
San Felipe	41,782	1,419	169*	7,841	51,211
San Ildefonso	19,570	274	5,914	—	25,758
San Juan	11,314	899	—	8,371	20,584
Santa Ana	18,551	585	—	25,537	44,673
Santa Clara	45,195	547	—	—	45,742
Santo Domingo	64,587	1,644	—	—	66,231
Taos	44,965	2,369	—	30,000	77,334
Tesuque	16,847	177	—	—	17,024
Zia	16,357	312	40,585	57,807	115,061
Zuni	340,910	2,833	67,186	4,054	414,983
	1,334,128	21,855	390,727	199,255	
Total Indian Land owned			1,355,983 (columns 1 and 2)		
Total land not owned but used by Indians			589,982 (columns 3 and 4)		
Total land owned and used by Pueblo Indians, 1944			1,945,965		

<sup>146</sup> Indian land includes the Spanish Grants, Executive Order and Congressional Act Reservations, land purchased with Compensation, community, Indian Reorganization Act money, individual money as well as Indian allotments and homesteads and land to which they acquired title by exchange.

Of the 1,355,983 acres in this category,

77,497 acres were acquired between 1933 and 1944:

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47,054 acres bought with Compensation money (Footnotes Table I)

27,247 acres bought with Indian Reorganization Act money (Acoma, Table I, Footnote 111)

3,196 acres exchanged (Acoma, Table I)

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77,497

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The total land owned by the Pueblo Indians in 1933 was 1,278,486 acres.

<sup>147</sup> Federal land includes all land administered by the United Pueblos Agency and land to which the title is in the United States of America. It consists of land used by the Indians purchased by the Federal Relief Administration, Resettlement Administration, Rehabilitation and Bankhead-Jones Act money. Land purchased from these funds and used by non-Indians is not included in this estimate. In this category is also included the Public Domain turned over for Indian use and administered by the Indian Service. Distribution of this land by categories is given in Table I.

<sup>148</sup> Land on which the Indians have leases or permits includes land from the Forest Service, the State and from Taylor Grazing Service. The distribution of this land by categories is given in Table I.

<sup>149</sup> The survey of the number of agricultural acres owned by each pueblo was made by the Irrigation Department of the United Pueblos Agency. Farming land lies entirely within the Indian grants or reservations except for San Felipe.

Of the 21,855 acres of farming land,

3,869 acres were added during 1933 to 1934:

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2,869 acres were purchased by Compensation money

1,000 acres were made available to the pueblos by subjugation, new storage dams, more efficient use of already existing water, etc.

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3,869

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Total farming land owned by the pueblos in 1933 was 17,986 acres.

\* Six acres of this land used by San Felipe is agricultural land.



TABLE III  
COMPARATIVE CARRYING CAPACITIES OF PURCHASE AREAS<sup>108</sup>  
In Terms of Sheep Units Yearlong<sup>109</sup>

AREA	DATE OF TRANSFER TO INDIAN SERVICE	CARRYING CAPACITY WHEN TRANSFERRED	CARRYING CAPACITY JULY 1, 1943	INCREASE IN CARRYING CAPACITY BETWEEN DATE OF TRANSFER TO INDIAN SERVICE AND JULY 1, 1943
Acoma Purchase Area	1938	14,983	14,983	—
Antonio Sedillo Grant	1941	3,075	3,635	560
Montano Grant	1938	1,803	2,500	697
Canoncito Purchase Area	1938	4,495	6,900	2,405
Isleta Purchase Area	1938	845	845	—
Zia-Santa Ana and San Ysidro Grant	1938	None established	2,545	—
Borrogo Grant	1938	800	1,000	200
Zuni North and South Purchase Area	1938	7,735	7,735	—
TOTAL		33,736	40,143	3,862

TABLE IV  
WOOL PRODUCTION IN POUNDS<sup>110</sup>  
1936-1943

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Acoma	66,113	56,937	45,000	49,015	67,687	69,244	66,473	70,000
Laguna	150,000	163,230	97,073	93,780	124,941	133,637	105,770	119,514
Zuni	117,000	102,445	121,096	119,461	121,000	142,350	158,750	160,200
Others	15,476	27,940	24,005	34,395	22,535	24,449	24,365	31,521
	348,589	350,552	287,174	296,651	336,163	369,730	355,358	381,235

<sup>108</sup> Zia-Santa Ana and San Ysidro Grant increases omitted; carrying capacity as yet undeterminable.  
<sup>109</sup> "Sheep Units Yearlong" is in terms of the number of sheep which the range can carry for twelve months without overgrazing the area.  
<sup>110</sup> From the Annual Extension Reports, United Pueblos Agency.

TABLE V  
POUNDS OF MEAT BY LIVESTOCK CLASSES SOLD AND CONSUMED  
ACOMA AND LAGUNA<sup>133</sup>  
1938-1943

	1938 Pounds	1939 Pounds	1940 Pounds	1941 Pounds	1942 Pounds	1943 Pounds
Cattle	387,031	349,350	398,195	487,899	438,092	431,097
Sheep	749,596	1,129,464	986,088	857,114	867,330	624,545
Swine	6,700	19,780	6,716	11,132	16,936	24,165
Poultry	9,808	11,440	5,626	13,818	14,473	21,970
Total	1,153,135	1,510,034	1,396,625	1,369,963	1,336,831	1,101,777

TABLE VI  
RESULTS OF ADJUSTMENTS PROGRAM, LAGUNA AND ACOMA, 1938-1942<sup>134</sup>

	1938	1942	INCREASE IN % 1938-1942	INCREASE IN LBS. 1938-1942
Percentage of Lambs to Herd	52%	62%	10%	
Weight of Lambs (in lbs.)	47	57	21%	10
Weight of Wool (in lbs.)	142,073	172,243	21%	30,170
Percentage of Calves to Herd	59%	79%	20%	
Weight of Calves (in lbs.)	264	365	38%	101

<sup>133</sup> From Range-Forestry Division, United Pueblos Agency.

<sup>134</sup> From Range-Forestry Division, tallies and marketing report, United Pueblos Agency.

TABLE VII  
REGISTERED BULLS AND IMPROVED RAMS PURCHASED BY THE VARIOUS  
PUEBLOS SINCE 1938<sup>100</sup>

PUEBLO	REGISTERED BULLS PURCHASED SINCE 1938	IMPROVED RAMS PURCHASED SINCE 1938
Acoma	58	410
Cochiti	5	—
Isleta	76	—
Jemez	10	23
Laguna	86	591
Nambe	2	—
Pojoaque	2	—
Sandia	3	—
San Juan	7	—
Santa Ana	1	—
San Felipe	1	—
Zia	—	49
Zuni	60	952
Total	311	2,025

<sup>100</sup> From Range-Forestry Division, tallies and marketing report, United Pueblos Agency.

TABLE VIII  
COMPARATIVE PRODUCTION, 1936, 1943  
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS  
19 PUEBLOS<sup>126</sup>

ITEM	UNIT	1936	1943	GAIN	% GAIN	LOSS	% LOSS
Milk	Gals.	12,104	7,685			4,419	36.5
Eggs	Doz.	27,015	57,196	30,181	111.70		
Forage Crops	Ton	9,982	12,969	2,987	29.90		
Cereal Crops	Bu.	210,860	239,247	28,387	13.46		
Garden Produce	Lbs.	936,782	2,094,800	1,158,018	123.60		
Fruit <sup>127</sup>	Bu.	71,381	34,770			36,611	51.3

TABLE IX  
COMPARATIVE GARDEN ACREAGE AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES CULTIVATING GARDENS<sup>128</sup>  
1936, 1943

	1936	1943	GAIN	% INCREASE
Garden Acreage	414	487	74	17
Number of Families Cultivating Gardens	1,702	2,125	423	25

TABLE X  
COMPARATIVE QUANTITIES OF FRUITS, VEGETABLES AND MEATS CANNED AND DRIED<sup>129</sup>  
1936, 1943

	UNIT	1936	1943	GAIN	% INCREASE
Produce: Canned					
Fruits, Vegetables, Meats	Qts.	39,685	180,121	140,436	354
Produce: Dried					
Fruits, Vegetables, Meats	Lbs.	30,653	200,832	170,179	555

<sup>126</sup> From Annual Extension Reports, United Pueblos Agency.

<sup>127</sup> Shortly after 1936, a program was introduced in which old, unproductive trees were replaced by young, thrifty species. The latter will not reach their maximum production for two or three years. Production should soon exceed that attained prior to the culling program.

<sup>128</sup> From Extension Reports, United Pueblos Agency.

<sup>129</sup> From Extension Reports, United Pueblos Agency.

TABLE XI  
POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO PUEBLOS<sup>100</sup>  
1932-1942

Pueblo	YEAR 1932				YEAR 1942			
	Family Groups	Male	Female	Total	Family Groups	Male	Female	Total
Acorna		554	519	1,073	216	667	655	1,322
Cochiti		156	139	295	86	181	165	346
Isleta		587	490	1,077	350	703	601	1,304
Jemez		346	295	641	165	402	365	767
Laguna		1,119	1,073	2,192	540	1,391	1,295	2,686
Nambe		60	69	129	34	67	77	144
Picuris		53	59	112	27	57	58	115
Pojoaque		4	3	7	5	13	12	25
Sandia		59	56	115	38	70	69	139
San Felipe		310	245	555	167	376	321	697
San Ildefonso		63	60	123	32	78	69	147
San Juan		275	255	530	154	342	360	702
Santa Ana		142	94	236	74	150	123	273
Santa Clara		192	190	382	122	265	263	528
Santo Domingo		497	365	862	209	576	441	1,017
Sia		104	79	183	49	130	105	235
Taos		373	351	723	209	417	413	830
Tesuque		61	59	120	• 26	79	68	147
Zuni		1,121	870	1,991	611	1,267	1,052	2,319
Total		6,075	5,271	11,346	3,114	7,231	6,512	13,743

Population all Pueblos 1942..... 13,743

Population all Pueblos 1932..... 11,346

Population increase..... 2,397

<sup>100</sup> From the Division of Health, United Pueblos Agency.



**TABLE XIII**  
**LOCATION, ACREAGE, AND METHOD OF ACQUISITION OF LANDS, EXCLUSIVE OF INDIAN LANDS,<sup>1</sup>**  
**ADMINISTERED BY THE UNITED PUEBLOS AGENCY<sup>2</sup>**

	ACOMA PURCHASE AREA Valencia County Acres	ANTONIO BEDILLO GRANT Valencia and Bernalillo Counties Acres	MONTANO GRANT Bernalillo and Sandoval Counties Acres	CANONCITO PURCHASE AREA Bernalillo and Valencia Counties Acres	ISLETA PURCHASE AREA Valencia and Bernalillo Counties Acres	ZUNIGA AND SAN YSIDRO GRANT Sandoval County Acres	BORNES GRANT Sandoval County Acres	ZUNIGA AND SOUTH PURCHASE AREAS McKinley and Valencia Counties Acres
Purchased by Reclamation Administration money Authority for Indian Service administration-Executive Order # 7792, 1/19/38 (22m Acres - Executive Order # 7873, 9/16/38)	130,959		44,071	62,450	17,493	30,414	16,080	58,032
Purchased by Brinkley-Jones Act money, Authority for Indian Service administration-Executive Order # 8096, 2/28/41		66,249						
Public Domain transferred to the Indian Service by Secretarial Order	71,364			31,960				27,369
Public Domain acquired by permits from Grazing Service					2,081	13,173 <sup>3</sup> 3,512 <sup>3</sup>		
Leased by Indians from State	14,737			4,409	1,257	2,244		3,414
Indian Homesteads Acquired under Homestead Act <sup>4</sup>	754							160
Indian Allotments Acquired under Homestead Act Trust Patents <sup>5</sup>	2,957			9,821				1,760
Purchased by Rehabilitation money	320			952				
Indian Fee Patented Acquired under Homestead Act				3,318				
Indian Compensation Fund Purchases				1,747				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>221,091</b>	<b>66,248</b>	<b>44,071</b>	<b>114,673</b>	<b>20,811</b>	<b>49,342</b>	<b>16,080</b>	<b>90,735</b>

<sup>1</sup> Fee definition of Indian land see footnote, Table II

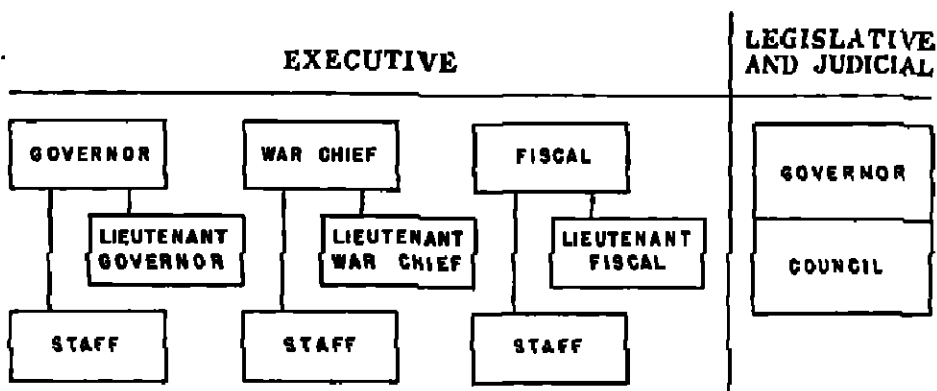
<sup>2</sup> Used by Indians

<sup>3</sup> Used jointly by Indians and non-Indians

<sup>4</sup> This land is not used with the surrounding range unless the individual has agreed to such an arrangement.

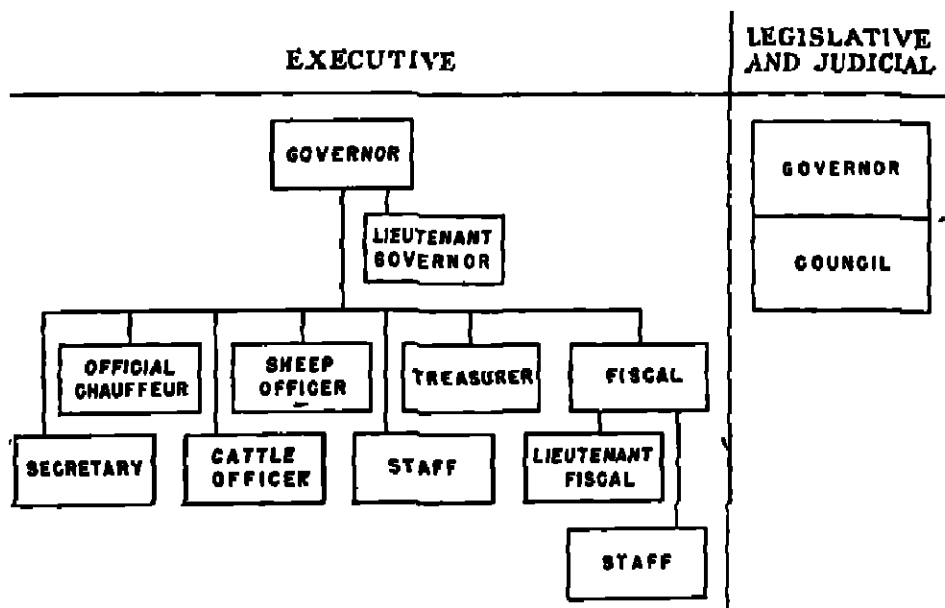
<sup>5</sup> The figures in Table XIII are the acres acquired, or otherwise acquired, similar circumstances in Table I are in many instances the acres held by the Pueblo Indians, hence the totals in the two tables do not always agree

TYPICAL CIVIL ORGANIZATION OF A NEW MEXICO PUEBLO  
DURING THE SPANISH REGIME



The work of these groups was influenced, co-ordinated or directed by the  
religious head of the tribe.

CIVIL ORGANIZATION OF A NEW MEXICO PUEBLO IN 1943  
SHOWING REALIGNMENT OF AUTHORITY WHICH HAS  
ALTERED THE PATTERN OF SPANISH TIMES



CHART





